NOMINA AGENTIS

IN

OLD ENGLISH.

PART I.

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY

KARL KÄRRE
LIC. PHIL., WÄRML.

BY DUE PERMISSION OF
THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF UPSALA
TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED IN ENGLISH
IN LECTURE HALL V,
MAY 28th, 1915, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M.
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

UPSALA 1915
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Preface.

The present work is the outcome of my researches into the subject of the occurrence and productivity of agential suffixes in Old English. It had been my original intention to deal with the subject on broader lines and include all agent-forming suffixes, but, as my investigations proceeded, it became clear that, if I worked on such a wide basis, the dimensions of the work would far exceed anything I had planned, for which reason I finally decided to confine myself to the two suffixes -l- *and* -end. *I hope, however, to give the complete results of my investigations in a later publication.*

Owing to the mass of material which has had to be examined, to the large number of works which have had to be consulted, and to the trying nature of the proof-reading, it is inevitable that some inaccuracies and inadvertencies have crept into the work, especially of a typographical nature; for these I beg the indulgence of the reader.

It remains for me to proffer my very hearty thanks to all those from whom I have received help and encouragement during the progress of my labours. In the first place, my grateful acknowledgements are due to Professor Erik Björkman, my esteemed teacher, who, in his public lectures, gave the indications which led to my choice of subject. He has also, with the greatest kindness and obliging readiness, given me the benefit of his experience and erudition, in the advice and stimulating suggestion he has afforded me.

I also wish to tender my expression of grateful thanks to Professor Axel Erdmann, late professor of English at Uppsala University, under whose guidance I first commenced the study of English, and to Professor K. F. Sundén, now of the University of Gothenburg, who was my first teacher in Old English and Primitive Teutonic.

Further, my thanks are due to Mr S. J. Charleston, M. A., Lector in English at the University of Uppsala, who has kindly undertaken the task of revising my manuscript and proofs, from the point of view of language and idiom.

For generous assistance in the arduous task of proof-reading I also desire to express my great indebtedness to my friend Fil. Lic. Th. Forssner.

Last, but not least, I wish to record my sense of gratitude to the librarians and other officials at the University Library, Uppsala, for their unfailing courtesy and obligingness.

Uppsala, May, 1915.

Karl Kärre.

Introduction.

I.

Definition and Delimitation of the Subject.

A.

§ 1. *Earlier literature on the subject.*

The nomina agentis in O. E. have not yet been the subject of any special investigation, if we except Sütterlin's work of 1887, which deals with the agent-formations of all Teutonic languages. Sütterlin's book, moreover, for all its great merits (to a certain extent it was a pioneer work) suffered from certain deficiencies — pointed out more or less forcibly by all his reviewers[1] — the gravest of which was that the work was not the »Geschichte» promised by its title: the productivity of the different agent-forming suffixes in the different Teutonic dialects was not clearly investigated.[2]

A number of the O. E. nom. ag. were considered by Best in his Strassburg dissertation of 1905, entitled "Die persönlichen Konkreta des Altenglischen"; a few were also dealt with by Klump (1908) in his treatise on "Die altenglischen Handwerkernamen". The last-mentioned work, however, as will be found, bears scarcely at all upon the part of my treatise now published, though it will be of considerable value, especially when I reach the treatment of nom. ag. formed by means of the suff. *-ere*. As regards Best's book, he gives no more than an enumeration of the personal concretes collected from the O. E. dictionaries and arranged according to their type of form-

[1] Kluge, Lit. bl. 1888 (2) p. 49 ff.; Kögel, Lit. Cbl. 1888 (38) 1314 f.; Bartsch, Germania 33, 117; Burg, Dt. Ltz. 33, 464.

[2] Also the reliability of his material was questioned. Burg pronounces as his "wohlerwogenes Urteil, dass nur der wird all diese Beispielsammlungen zu seinem Heile benutzen, der sie auf Schritt und Tritt zu kontrollieren bereit ist".

ation, but he offers no discussion whatever of his material, from any point of view.[1] Since he deals with *personal concretes* in general, his subject, moreover, is not identical with the present one.

Hence it has seemed desirable that a further contribution should now be made to the study of O. E. word-formation in this particular department, especially as English philologists are still waiting for a work corresponding to the German "WILMANNS", and it is indispensable for the author of such a work to have at his disposal preliminary researches dealing with the different word-groups.

§ 2. *Object of investigation.*

Being a special investigation into the O. E. nom. ag., my work stands in the same relation to that of SÜTTERLIN as do the researches of FALK and HELLQUIST on O. N. nom. ag. to the same work. The object of my researches has been to try to produce *a monograph, as exhaustive and reliable as possible in point of material, of the nom. ag. in O. E., with particular regard to the productivity of the different types of formation*, or perhaps rather — in view of the unfinished character of my work as it is now published — *monographs on the different agent-forming suffixes as forming ag.-n., with special attention to their productivity*. But also from other points of view, an investigation into this word-group has seemed desirable. Thus, everybody knows to what degree stylistic differences prevail among these words, especially differences between the vocabulary of prose and that of poetry. It is, then, of interest to find out what holds good for the separate words and still more for the different suffixes: if words of a certain type are, for instance, especially favoured by the Anglo-Saxon poets. Then it is possible, and even *a priori* probable, that the stock of words — as regards individual words and types of formation — to be found about the end of the 11th century is somewhat different from that which we meet with at the beginning of the 8th century, though, on account of the relative scarcity and the nature of the texts (the majority of them being poetry during the former, and prose during the latter, part of the period), it is attended with great difficulties to distinguish chronological from stylistic differences, among other things, or positively to prove the existence of such chronological differences. Further, it

[1] Cp. also POGATSCHER, Dt. Ltz. 1906, 1060.

may be of interest to ascertain how far certain words are used only as last elements of cpp., or also as independent words; and perhaps also the question of gender can afford some points of interest. And last, but not least, it is desirable that an investigation should be made of these words from the point of view of sense. The traditional term, nomina agentis, is a very comprehensive one and includes types of words of rather varied semological functions. "Im Interesse der hier annoch erforderlichen Untersuchungen hat man für das Semasiologische zunächst eine vollständigere und feiner ausgebildete Terminologie zu schaffen. Die wenigen allgemeinen Termini wie Nomen actionis, Nomen agentis, Deminutivum u. dgl. reichen bei weitem nicht aus."[1] I do not consider myself capable of solving the difficult terminological question (or rather questions), nor the still more intricate problem of settling definitely whether there are in O. E. morphological categories corresponding to the semological ones, i. e. whether, and to what extent, certain agent-forming suffixes appear in O. E. with a more or less specialized semological function. Certainly, the first investigator who attempts such a classification of the stock of O. E. ag.-n. cannot expect to arrive at final and conclusive results, yet I will not shirk my task of making a modest attempt at tracing, at least in outline, this semology of O. E. nom. ag.

Now, of course, on account of the fragmentary character of the part of my treatise here offered to the public, many questions attached to this problem have as yet only been touched upon. I had not foreseen that my study would assume such dimensions, and so I have, for many reasons, been obliged to divide the work — a fact which I very much regret — and to publish here only my researches on two agent-forming suffixes, viz. prim. Teut. *-(i)lo* and O. E. *-end*. The material is collected also for the other suffixes and is only waiting for arrangement and treatment, a task which I propose to undertake as soon as time and opportunity allow. In a concluding chapter, I intend to make a comparative study of the use of different modes of agent-formation with particular regard to "double forms", i. e. different ag.-n. from the same verb, formed by means of different suffixes, and to summarize the results arrived at.

[1] Brugmann, Grdr. 2: 1, § 468.

§ 3. *Methods of investigation.*

The methods employed for the attainment of my object will be fairly clear. Of course, it has not been sufficient to rely only on the existing lexicographical resources, which are in fact, as is well known, by no means all that could be desired. Even to obtain comparatively exhaustive and reliable material, it has been necessary to turn to the O. E. literature directly, and still more so in order to indicate possible differences between the words of this semological group, as regards sense, style, chronology, etc. I have therefore felt obliged to go through the whole bulk of O. E. literature, as far as it is printed in accessible editions, and, of course, the dictionaries have been consulted and excerpted, too. That a considerable number of records will have escaped my attention, in spite of every care, is only to be expected; yet I trust that the number of such involuntary omissions will not be so great, nor the words omitted so important, as to influence appreciably the results arrived at.

In contrast to the investigations hitherto made in the province of O. E. word-formation, the present researches thus afford a collection of material with quotation of the records in question. In this respect, I have taken as models such researches in O. E. philology as are represented by such names as Hoops, Jordan, Klump, and others, though for quite usual words I do not give all the records in existence, but only try to indicate the nature and frequency of their occurrence. (For many of the words in question the records are, moreover, already given in other works, in which case I generally content myself with instances and a reference to the author by whom they are given, unless the words are made the subject of discussion from a point of view for which their quotation is necessary; then, for practical reasons, they are cited over again. If a word that does not present any etymological difficculties occurs in different forms according to dialects, those different forms are not always kept strictly apart).

The working-system indicated will be found, I think, to be correct in principle. During the course of my work, it has become more and more clear to me that any study on word-formation must carefully penetrate the character and import of each separate word, which must, in most cases, be viewed in its context: grammar and dictionary must work together.[1]

[1] Cp. also Brugmann II: 1, p. 595.

There have been two ways open to me in investigating the subject: to undertake either a comprehensive study of the O. E. group of nom. ag., or a detailed study of the suffixes and the words. It will appear from the above that I have decided upon the latter method. Sütterlin's work already gives a comprehensive view of the formations in question, and it has seemed to me, at the present stage, to be the only correct and profitable course to enter more closely into the details of the words and types. The comprehensive view of, and wider outlook on, the subject will not, I hope, need to be lost on that account and must not be lost either, since my chief aim is, as has already been pointed out, to estimate the productivity of the suffixes, to follow the suffixes in their internal contests for supremacy during the first four centuries of the history of the English language, and to trace, if — or as far as — possible, the causes that have occasioned a decline in the use of some modes of word-formation and the final victory of others.

For a few other questions connected with those just discussed, see below.

B.

§ 4. *Definitions of nom. ag.*

The term nom. ag. has been used with very different meanings by different authors. In the following pages only such definitions as have been set up and adopted in works of particular interest to us are taken into consideration.

Zimmer, p. 27, includes in the term "die Nominalthemen, welche eine Person oder Sache ausdrücken, durch welche der Begriff der Wurzel activisch, passivisch oder reflexiv vollzogen wird" and uses the term, as he himself says "in ausgedehntem sinne". Both adj. and sb. can be nom. ag., and like Scherer, he even regards all sb. as originally substantivized adj., though, for practical reasons, he treats of them separately and, e. g., for his *o*-stems, uses the following system: 1) sb. nom. ag. masc. 2) sb. nom. ag. neutr. 3) adj. nom. ag.

Sütterlin gives no definition and suggests no definite delimitation of his subject. I shall return to this on p. 7.

Falk, p. 3, defines nom. ag. in the following way: "Das nom. ag. bezeichnet adj.-isch oder sb.-isch das Subjekt, das die durch die Wurzel ausgedrückte Tätigkeit ausübt, von dem die Tätigkeit ihren Ausgangspunkt nimmt and das als Ursache derselben er-

scheint. Der Begriff der Wurzel kann transitiv oder intransitiv, activisch (reflexivisch) oder passivisch, præsentisch oder perfectisch gefasst werden". And further down, ib.: "Nom. ag. bezeichnet den Träger der Handlung, nämlich a) den Ausführer der Handlung b) den Empfänger der Handlung c) das Mittel der Handlung".

Before settling the range of the use of the term in this work, I may be allowed to mention still another definition, viz. Noreen's, whose exposition of the question has cleared it to me very much, and with whose opinions on this semological group I essentially agree.

Noreen[1], who treats of this category from the point of view of descriptive Modern Swedish semology, has a terminology of his own, and we must therefore consider his system as a whole. As his chief group we find *concrete nomina gerentis ("gerentiala konkreter")* denoting the bearer of an idea, i. e. the person or thing regarded as performing a certain action, as being in a certain condition, as characterized by a certain quality etc., e. g. (to take English examples) *torturer, applicant, criminal, the little one*[2].

Gerent-nouns fall into two groups, according as the idea represented by the gerent is some sort of *activity*, or a *quality*. In the former case, we have to do with *concrete nomina actionis ("aktionella konkreter")*, e. g. *torturer;* in the latter case, with *concr. nom. virtutis* ("virtuella konkreter"), e. g. *criminal.*

Actional concretes, in their turn, are divided into *nom. agentis ("agentiala konkreter")*, denoting the representative of a temporary activity, e. g. *purchaser, reader, deliverer,* (Laura, his) *liberatress, laudator, defendant,* (the) *reviewer* (of his book), and *nom. actoris ("aktorala konkreter")*, denoting the representative of a more regular, often even professional exersising of a certain activity, e. g. *judge, barber, lamp-lighter,* 'one whose business it is to light the street-lamps', (the literary) *reviewer* (of the Times), *critic, grasshopper* (animal), *laundress, lawyer, prosaist, phonetician, Latinist,* 'a Latin scholar'.

Concrete nom. virtutis are either *characterizing*, denoting the representative of a characteristic quality, e. g. *the little* or

[1] Vårt språk, V. 3. p. 331 ff.

[2] The group is coordinated with *concrete nomina instrumenti* and *concr. nom. acti,* along with which it constitutes the grammatical category called, by Noreen, *actus.* Concr. nom. ger. have an abstract correspondence which he calls *gerundium (gerund).* So, e. g., *applicant* is the gerent corresponding to the gerund *application; criminal* the gerent to the gerund *criminality.*

good one, a German, foreigner, favourite, millionaire, or *tendency-denoting ("tendentiella konkreter")*, which express the representative of a more or less conspicuous tendency (opinion, sympathies, manner, etc.), e. g. *Socialist, Mohammedan, Liberationist* ('one who sympathizes with the aim of the Liberation Society'), *Republican, realist, drunkard, lapling* ('one who loves to lie on a lady's lap').

Noreen's system, consequently, is as follows: *Concrete nomina gerentis* (cp. *nom. instrumenti* and *acti*).

A. *Concrete nom. actionis (actional concretes)*
   1) *nom. agentis :* reader
   2) *nom. actoris :* lamp-lighter

B. *Concrete nom. virtutis*
   1) *characterizing :* foreigner
   2) *tendency-denoting :* Socialist.

§ 5. *Comparisons between and remarks on the previous definitions.*

What, then, is the relation between these different definitions of the term, or rather, in what relation do the definitions of the first three scholars stand to Noreen's system?

As regards Zimmer, his ag.-n. will, on the whole, be equivalent to Noreen's head-group, i. e. nom. ger. Then there are instances in Zimmer's material that should rather be interpreted as nomina acti, quite a different group denoting the result of an action, but that has probably not been his intention, cp. "vollzogen *wird*". In such an "ausgedehntem sinne", however, the term is scarcely used nowadays, and the point does not call for any great attention.

In Sütterlin's book no definition is given, and it is also rather difficult to identify the group of words treated by him with any definite semological group, and so his neglect to define his subject and to put the problem clearly has not failed to entail unfortunate consequences. The absence of such words as the formations in *-en* (ðēoden, dryhten), the omission of the *substantivized adj.* — it is not even mentioned — and the absence of *many concr. nom. virtutis of the n-stems* would seem to show that he had only regarded words with verbal sense-basis, i. e., a semological group corresponding, on the whole, to Noreen's concr. nom. actionis. But then there are to be found in his material of ag.-n. such words as *fruma*[1], and all those desubstantive formations of the weak stems of the type of *ȝeðofta*, and so also the words

[1] Wrongly classified as a *jan*-stem by him.

formed with the suff.-*inʒo*; these last words he does not treat in detail, it is true; but that is only, as he expressly states on p. 18, because "dieses stamenbildungsmittel schon ausführlich behandelt worden ist". Now, next to the means of substantivizing the adj. simply by using it independently, generally with weak flexion, the suff.-*(l)inʒ* is the chief means in O. E. of forming what Noreen calls concr. nom. virtutis, e. g. *dēorling*, *dȳrling* : *dēor*. Yet it appears from certain expressions in his work as if he seemed to regard as nom. ag., in the proper sense of the word, only words denoting the performer of an *action*, i. e., words with verbal sense-basis.

Falk's definition, which is very clearly conceived and put, is narrower then Zimmer's, insofar as a *Handlung* is always necessary to constitute an ag.-n., and his nom. ag. probably have the same range as the ag.-n. are meant to have in Sütterlin's work, and will correspond, on the whole, to Noreen's actional concretes. There are exceptional groups, however, viz., the words denoting 'den Empfänger der Handlung' and 'das Mittel der Handlung'. The last words are treated separately by Noreen as 'nom. instrumenti', though he admits, of course, the difficulty of always keeping them apart. As for the other group of words denoting 'den Empfänger der Handlung', the matter is a little more difficult. But certainly Noreen will not admit among his actional concretes such words whose sense in relation to the verb is passive. There may be cases, theoretically speaking, when it is difficult to draw the limit between words denoting persons (or things) being in a certain condition and words denoting the object of an activity (den Empfänger der Handlung), but that distinction certainly must be maintained. I am decidedly against Falk, when he includes these words in his nom. ag. To take an example, to indicate as an ag.-n. the O. E. *wræcca*, 'exile', — a word which rather means 'a persecuted person', not 'a persecutor, a pursuer', — is, in my opinion, to adopt a terminology that is too contrary to the real sense of the term ag.-n. to be permissible. If an author desires to include such words as these in his "nom. ag." — which, of course, he is at liberty to do and which the relationship between the words, semologically and often also morphologically, may sometimes justify — he certainly had better try to find a more appropriate term, whether he uses "nom. ger." or another term which he may think better. But, at any rate, it is a necessity that a terminological distinction should be made between words which, for all their points of similarity,

exhibit such evident semological differences as, e. g., O. E. *wræcca* and O. E. *ēhtere* (*ēhtend*), or, to take examples from N. E., where these two categories have now got specific means of expression, as N. E. *lessor, legator, granter, examiner, mortgagor,* on the one hand, and *lessee, legatee, grantee, examinee, mortgagee* on the other[1].

§ 6. *Nom. ag. in the present work.*

In the present work, the words dealt with are not, however, "nom. gerentis". The group which I call nom. ag., and of which I am here going to treat, is the same as Noreen's actional concretes and includes, consequently, both the "nom. ag." and "nom. actoris" of his terminology[2]. The words belonging here form, in my opinion, a clearly marked class, semologically and — as regards O. E. at least. — also morphologically, so much so as to allow of particular treatment, separate from that of words of other semological categories. Very often I shall be obliged to treat of words that are not nom. ag., but then it will always be specifically stated that I do not regard them as such. Such a proceeding, however, has proved necessary, since I start from morphological (not semological) groups.

Nom. ag., consequently, are *concrete nouns* (or adj.) *that designate a person or thing as the performer of an action or as being in a certain condition*, which action or condition is implied in the word from which the ag.-n. in question is derived; or, to put it in another way, *concrete nouns* (or adj.) *that express the active representative of an action or a condition.* It is essential that they should express the performer of an *action*, not the bearer of a *quality*, that the sense underlying the word — its sense-basis, so to speak — should be *verbal* and actively verbal, not *adjectival.*

That there are adj. that are of agential nature, adjectival nom. ag. consequently, is, I think, a matter of general agreement. In contrast to Zimmer and Falk, however, — Sütterlin treats of adj. in *-ol* — I have entirely omitted these in my investigation. From an O. E. point of view, the adjectival and substantival nom.

[1] Cp. Sweet, NEGr., p. 479. — Of course I do not mean to say that O. E. *wræcca* and *ēhtere* form an exact O. E. parallel to the N. E. pairs mentioned; yet the sense of the desubstantive *wræcca* is passive in relation to the action implied in the primitive word.

[2] As regards the terminological question and possible sub-divisions, see p. 12 ff.

ag. are of quite different formation, and there is no need to treat them together. Moreover, all O. E. adj. have recently been the subject af an investigation[1], and it may be enough here to refer to that work. In concession to popular terminology, I have ventured, however, without fear of a misunderstanding, to appropriate the title of nom. ag. for the substantival formations belonging here, without any restrictive addition, e. g., of 'substantival'.

There is a slight difficulty in a few cases in drawing the limit between sb. and adj. Adj. used substantively are, of course, not dealt with. But sometimes a word can be regarded either as a substantivized adj. or as a clear subst. formed directly from the verb, e. g., *ðearfa*. Such cases, when occurring among the different suffixes, will be noticed, but they will not be classified as substantival nom. ag. Generally the sense-basis of such words is adjectival.

It is clear from the preceding that I do not include the nom. instrumenti in my group. Cp. what is said on this point in connection with the *-(i)lo*-suff on p. 42 f.

§ 7. *Deverbative and desubstantive nom. ag.*

As an essential feature of an ag.-n. we have just claimed that it always denotes the performer of an *action*, that its sense-basis is *verbal*. It must, however, be noticed, as was also clear from the above examples (see § 4), that the action need not necessarily be directly expressed by the primitive word from which it is derived. Words in the case of which such is true certainly are nom. ag, in the strictest sense of the term, e. g., *bindere* 'one who binds', *rynel* 'one who runs', *(man)-slaga* 'one who kills'. The primitive word here is always a verb, and from the point of view of morphology such words are *deverbative ag.-n.* (often also called primary). But besides these words, there are also others closely connected with them (morphologically and semologically), where the primitive word is a *subst.*, which does not express any action at all. But the *desubstantive formations* in question — not denominative, since derivations from adj. constitute "nom. virtutis" — nevertheless suggest the performer of an action, viz. the performer of that very action which consists in, is performed by means of, aims at, or in any way whatever is connected with, the idea expressed by the primitive word. The sense-relation be-

[1] Schön, Die Bildung des adj. im Ae.

tween the activity (which is only conceived, not expressed) and the sb. from which the nom. ag. in question is derived may thus be of a most varied character, and there is no linguistic means of expression for it, any more than there is, e. g., for the innumerable sense-relations in which the parts of a compound sb. stand to each other. There is nothing in Goth *haúrnja* which denotes its sense of 'one who *plays* on the horn'; from a morphological point of view, it might just as well mean 'one who *manufactures* a horn', just as *kasja* means 'one who *makes* pots, a potter'. But the quality of the word of expressing the performer of an action, of being, consequently, a nom. ag. is indisputable. Then, it expresses the performer of the action in quite the same way as would a cp. sb. which had *haúrn* (*kas* etc.) for its first member and as second member had the ag.-n. of the verb expressing the action in question. Goth. *fiskja* — I leave out of consideration its probably secondary association with *fiskôn* — means exactly the same thing as a word **fiska-numja*, or perhaps rather **fiska-nuta* (cp. *nuta*), or something of the sort, would have done, cp. *arbja* and *arbi-numja*, both with the sense of 'one who inherits, an heir'.

It has thus proved unavoidable to include certain desubstantive derivatives among nom. ag., which fact has, however, occasioned an increase in the difficulties of delimiting the group. For, while the deverbatives derivatives of this type, with only a few exceptions, are nom. ag., and the adjectival derivatives are "nom. virtutis", the desubstantive formations distribute themselves in both of these semological groups. The classification of such words becomes an altogether semological question, for which it is decisive if the sense of the word is actively verbal, on the one hand, or adjectival or passively verbal, on the other.

Practically, in the part of my treatise so far worked out, I have not had much to do with desubstantive nom. ag., but even now I think I can state that there are not in O. E. any living suffixes with the specific function of forming agential nouns from sb. Desubstantive nom. ag. occur, and even a fairly large number of them, in a few suffixes which are prevailingly used for forming deverbative ag.-n., esp. *-a(n)* and *-ere*, and then in a few isolated cases, and will, of course, be treated of in their proper places. Often, as is well known, suffixes pass over from forming desubstantive ag.-n. to forming deverbative, there existing or arising cases where the derived word permits of a double interpre-

tation: as a formation from a subst. or as a formation from a verb generally derived from that very sb (cp. above Goth. *fiskja*). With such words as starting-points for new formations made from verbs, a shifting in the use of the suffix can be brought about.

§ 8. *Terminology.* Thus, though my group of nom. ag. — in principle at least — coincides with Noreen's actional concretes, yet I have preferred not to adopt his terminology. In the first place, the old term of "nom. ag." is certainly so universally established and also so appropriate for this semological group — more or less clearly apprehended and defined, it is true — but at any rate aimed at by most scholars, that I doubt whether it will be possible to carry through the application of this term to only one of Noreen's two sub-divisions of the group, especially as these sub-divisions are so nearly allied to each other as to pass imperceptibly over into each other; the difference between them, though important from many points of view, is too unessential. And then, I am a little uncertain as to the suitability of Noreen's term. As a parallel to actional abstracts, on the one hand, and concrete nom. virtutis, on the other, it is certainly very appropriate, but one does not always want to fix these contrasts in one's mind. It seems to me to be most convenient to employ a term that is subsumed directly under *subst.* (or *noun*), not under *concrete subst. (nouns)*. And, from that point of view, the traditional terms of *agential nouns* = *nom. agentis* will be quite suitable for this category, and *actional nouns* = *nom. actionis*, for the corresponding abstract words.

§ 9. *Some general remarks on the semology of ag.-n.* Then, however, it will be necessary to look for other terms for possible sub-divisions of the group than those used by Noreen, "nom. ag." and "nom. actoris".

Since time immemorial the nom. ag. of I. E. languages have fallen into two groups, according as the ag.-n. denotes an occasional performer of an action or a more habitual performer of an action.[1] Of course, there might be set up many more different groups, as there are indeed a great number of various relations between the nom. ag. and the word from which it is derived. But the difference in sense between those two categories is much more

[1] Noreen, ibid., p. 333, with quotation from Brugmann, K. vgl. Gr. 333.

marked than that between other semological groups of ag.-n., and certainly is great enough to claim different terminological expressions.[1]

Now it seems to me that, by the side of this distinction — besides the more temporary (occasional) or permanent character of the action performed, in relation to its performer — there is also another distinction between these two groups that is essential to the division in question, viz. the *more or less markedly verbal* or the *more or less markedly appellative* character of the ag.-n. Of course, all ag. -n are appellatives as being sb., and the sense-basis of all is verbal, or they would be "nom. virtutis", but there is a *relative difference* in this respect, so that some retain more of the verbal character than others, a difference which cannot be ignored on account of its purely relative character, since it will not be possible to find any absolute difference between the groups, according to which they could be classified without difficulty. In many of the words of the former kind, the appellative character is so slightly developed that the ag. -n, along with the verb of the clause, has the character of a periphrastic construction, and means nothing more than a tense-form of the verb from which the nom. ag. is derived would have done. So, e. g., *he wæs andetta* means little more than *he andette, he wæs cwylmend ðæs mannes*, than *he cwylmde ðone mann*. I think this distinction will tally with Noreen's, as well as with that of Brugmann, who characterizes the two kinds of ag.-n. as *zeitlich begrenzte* (= Noreen's nom. ag.) and *dauernde* (= Noreen's nom. act.), the more appella-

[1] It might seem, at first sight, to be rather an unimportant distinction that is set up here, and one of small practical consequence. Such a view, however, is wrong. There is no knowing *a priori* whether this semological difference has not in a certain dialect called a morphological difference into existence as well, so that a certain suffix can be shown to prefer, at least, one shade of meaning to the other, is used exclusively or chiefly to form one of the two groups. As an example of the importance of a distinction in this respect, also from a wider point of view, I may recall the passage in PBB 29, p. 327 f., where Sievers shows the impossibility of an interpretation of Trautmann's, in Bonner Beitr. z. Angl. II. 139, of Beow. 241, just by a reference to the fact that one of the words of the sentence, viz. *endesæta*, like other cpp. with *-sæta*, is only what Noreen calls a nom. actoris, denotes a person who is "always" sitting in certain place. Thus it is often of interest to state the exact meaning of a separate word, and, of course, it is of still greater interest to state what sense is preferably associated with a certain suffix, if a particular sense-shade should happen to be associated with it.

tive character of some words just being a consequence of the loss of any sense of tense that they have sustained. An '*onlooker*' is only *one looking on* on a certain occasion, and as long as he is looking on; whereas a *shoe-maker* is and remains a shoe-maker, even when leaving for a while his usual work to cultivate his little field; and a *worker* (= workman) is a worker, even when enjoying his after-dinner nap. The former nom. ag. is 'zeitlich begrenzt', or expresses the performer of a temporary action, the latter is 'dauernd', or expresses the performer of a more lasting action. But, at the same time, and as a consequence of this, the verbal sense is much greater in the first word than in the last two words; words of the former type retain more of the character of the verb of *stating, telling, asserting* that a person (or thing) appears on an occasion as the performer of an action; words of the latter type only *describe, name, denominate* a person (or thing) from a certain action (function), an action which he (it) may perform professionally *(shoe-maker)*, or which may be characteristic of him (it) *(grass-hopper)*, or of which he (it) may be an habitual representative in a more general and vague way (*Saviour*, O. E. *frumsprecend, ærendwreca*). The action in question may very well have been performed only once, on one occasion, e. g., O. E. *Jūdas, Crīstes belæwend*, if only the person (or thing) is denominated from it.

In accordance with the apprehension of the different sense-character of nom. ag. here vindicated, I have chosen for the two semological categories two terms which do not denote in themselves, it is true, the whole difference in sense between the groups, but which emphasize the point of view that was laid stress upon above; and these terms, I think, could be used even by scholars that attach the chief weight to other characteristics of the words, viz. *assertive* and *denominational* ag. -n. (*erzählende* und *benennende* nom. ag.)

Assertive ag.-n., consequently, are ag. -n. with strongly marked verbal character, denoting one that performs a certain action, or is in a certain condition, on a certain occasion ("zeitlich begrenzt"), whether he perform the action or be in the condition in question only then or repeatedly.

Denominational ag.-n. do not possess any strongly marked verbal character, but their appellative nature is fully developed ("dauernd" or "zeitlos"), they denote the representative of an action

or a condition after which the person (or thing) is denominated, whether he perform the action or be in the condition in question just then or not.

A clear line of demarcation cannot, of course, be drawn between these groups: they merge imperceptibly into each other. There is a continuous series of ag.-n., passing step by step from words that are so intimately associated with the verb as to form with the verb of the clause only a periphrasis of the verb from which the ag.-n. is derived, up to words which have lost every association with the verb, and which suggest the person himself (the thing itself), even without any accessory notion of him (it) as performing the action in question. As examples of such opposite extremes in the O. E. stock of nom. ag., I may give: *andetta* (only used predicatively with bēon = andettan 'to confess') — *wita* 'counsellor' (cp. *witena ȝemōt*), *rynel* 'river'.

Among the denominational ag.-n., however, we can very easily discriminate between certain definite groups. A very marked group is the category of words denoting the exerciser of a calling, the *calling-denoting* ag.-n. Other words indicate the performer of an action more vaguely, but still in such a way as to describe him or characterize him by that very action, though it is not performed professionally: I call such words *descriptive* or *characterizing* ag.-n. We might perhaps distinguish between descriptive and characterizing ag.-n. and apply the former term to words of the type of O. E. *wiȝend, wiȝa*, and the latter to such words as *nihtefȝale*, but that discrimination, though very easy to make in many cases, proves extremely difficult to carry out consistently in practice; a very great number, probably the majority, of the latter type are, moreover, united into a semological whole by their character of denoting animals, plants, or things. If a distinction between these two types of person-designating ag.-n. (i. e. descriptive and characterizing) were made, the descriptive ag.-n. could be said to form the transition-stage from assertive ag.-n. to denominational ag.-n., though belonging rather to the latter group.

I ought perhaps to illustrate the above discussion by a few further examples taken from O. E.:

1. *Assertive ag.-n.:*

   Setl ȝedafenað deman, and steall *fylstendum* oððe *feohtendum* Ælfc Hom I 48_6;

he onȝann cweðan þæt he sylfa wære *cwylmend* þæs mannes Greg. 89[5].

2. *Denominational ag.-n.:*

a) Descriptive or characterizing ag.-n.:

α) Ic *ærendraca* and *boda* drihtnes hælendes Cristes (said by an angel) Obs. of Sunday, Furn. Misc. 357_{10};
sendon maran sciphere strenȝran *wiȝena* Bd I 866;
ure *hælend* Crist (often);
Judas, Cristes *belæwend* Disc. Sacr. Cr. 15[6]; *læwa* KCD. 1334 VI 196[13];

β) *nihtegale, ēarscripel, solsēce*[1] uel *siȝelhweorfe, -a.*

b) Calling-denoting ag.-n.

Sceō-wyrhta, hunta, fiscere, birele.

The descriptive ag.-n of the type of *boda, ārendraca, wiȝa* were said to form the transition-stage from assertive ag.-n. The descriptive ag.-n. of the type of *belāwend*, which are often not to be distinguished from the others, form, on the other hand, the transition-stage between nom. ag. and concr. nom. virtutis.[2] In *Iūdas, Crīstes belāwend* or *lāwa*, we have still to do with a noun denoting a person denominated from an *action* (note the objective genitive), thus with an ag.-n, but in ȝod nele þæt we beon ȝrædiȝe ȝytseras (L. S. XVI 329), we have a more ambiguous case. *ȝītsere* is formed from the verb *ȝītsian* 'to covet, desire', by means of the common ag.-forming suff. *-ere*, but to my mind it suggests — as does its synonym *se ȝītsienda*, and the corresponding L. word, viz. the adj. *avarus* (used substantively) — the bearer of a quality rather than the performer of an action, and is thus, in my opinion, rather a concr. nom. virtutis.

For practical reasons, I have thought it most appropriate to treat, in excursuses, of such cases as those mentioned, as well, when occurring exceptionally in common ag.-forming suffixes.

For other questions concerning semology, cp. also the treatment of the semology of each particular suffix.

Before leaving the general discussion of these questions, I may be allowed to add still a few words. It may be comparatively easy to distinguish between various semological types within the sphere of nom. ag. But it soon becomes evident how extremely difficult

[1] O. E. association with *sēcan* secondary; < L. *solisequia.*

[2] When necessary, I retain this term of Noreen's in my treatise, though it is not a suitable parallel to nom. ag. in the sense here used.

it is to undertake a classification of the stock of ag.-n. of a certain language from these points of view. That task is difficult when the language to be examined is a living one and one's own mother-tongue; it is most precarious when a dead language is concerned. The material is then limited, and it is often impossible to state the exact signification of a word. In many cases, the occurrence of a certain word in only one sense is no doubt fortuitious and due to lack of a sufficient number of records.

§ 10. *Obscured ag.-n.*

There still remains one question to be settled in the delimitation of my subject: the question of such words as were originally nom. ag. at the distant time when they were formed, but are no longer felt as such in O. E., i. e. *obscured ag.-n.* Such an obscuration may have taken place in proethnic English, in Teutonic, or even pre-Teutonic times; it may be due to the extinction of the primitive word or to phonological or semological changes having taken place in it, so as to make association with the derived word impossible; also the suffix in question is sometimes no longer felt as agent-forming in O. E., or even as a suffix at all.

A detailed study of all obscured ag.-n. in O. E. would, of course, take us very far and lead us away from what has been indicated as being the chief object of this study: the production of a monography on O. E. ag.-n. with special attention to the productivity of the different ag.-forming suffixes. But even though I thus consider myself to be quite at liberty to treat of obscured ag.-n. to such an extent as I choose, if treating of them at all, yet it will prove advantageous for the understanding also of the O. E. development to give some attention to at least such obscured ag.-n. as are formed with suffixes still used in that function in O. E. And so I have worked, in this respect, upon the following principles:

1) obscured ag.-n. formed by means of suffixes that are still living in O. E. as agent-forming are dealt with.[1]
2) obscured ag.-n. belonging to altogether extinct types of formation are passed over.

If, however, in case 1), the obscuration should have taken place very early, perhaps in pre-Teutonic times, I claim the liberty of dealing with the word or omitting it, as seems best. In such cases the etymology is often dubious; different explanations have been

[1] *living* is here not used in the sense of productive, only in the meaning of *felt as ag.-forming.*

given and seem to be possible; it is a province where only comparative philologists are entitled to decide the cases. But words that were not, as it seems, obscured until proethnic English are always taken into consideration.

Before going on to the subject proper of my study, as it has now been defined and delimited, I have, however, in the *introduction*, given a short *exposé* of quite extinct types of agent-formations. It may be that an investigation of this kind would be better based on Teutonic, and not O. E., material. But what has seemed interesting to me to find out is whether there are in O. E. *words whose primitive words still exist, and which retain, in spite of the extinction of the type as a mode of agent-formation, their association with the primitive word,* or at least could possibly, upon reflection, be felt as a sort of ag.-n. in relation to the still living verb from which they were originally formed. A short introductory discussion of such extinct types will therefore, I think, not be altogether devoid of interest.

II.

Some remarks concerning obsolete types of agent-formation.

Originally ag.-forming suffixes.

In I. E. times many suffixes had the faculty of forming nom. ag. which in the Teutonic languages — in this case O. E. — no longer lived on as suffixes, at least not as agent-forming suffixes. Such was the case with I. E. *-o-*, *-i-*, [*-u-*, originally adj.], [*-u̯o-*, adj.; cp. *-u̯es-* below] and *-i̯u-* (in Teut. languages only in nom. actionis), which, in the Teutonic family of languages, have all lost their character of suffixes and have passed into stem-formative elements.[1] Such has also been the case with certain other suffixes, which have not been changed into stem-formative elements, it is true, but which have coalesced entirely with the stem. These suffixes are:

-meno-, -mo-[2]: O. N. dammr, O. E. *damm (cp. M. E. dam and O. E. fordemman) < *đamnaz : √dhē

-(s)men-[3], in the case of which the original character of the different words, of nom. ag. or nom. actionis, is difficult to decide: O. E. ȝōma: √ghēu 'yawn'

-u̯en-[4]: O. E. spearwa: √sper 'zappeln'[5]

-ter-, -tel-[6]: L. actor; O. H. G. friudil 'amator': √prī 'love'[7]

-t-[8]: L. sacer-dōs 'qui sacra dat', O. E. hæle (hæleð) 'Held', O. H. G.

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[1] To these suffixes, however, does not belong *-i̯o-* (Brugmann § 109 ff.), which derives nouns from other nouns. In the Teut. languages there are words formed with *-i̯o-* that have the character of (desubstantive) nom. ag., e. g. *hierde* 'tender of a herd': *heord* 'herd'.

[2] See Brugmann, §§ 160—163.

[3] See Brugmann, §§ 164—169.

[4] See Brugmann, § 232 ff.

[5] Cp. Brugmann, IF. 13, 160 note 1) and Uhlenbeck PBB 30, 309.

[6] See Brugmann, § 243 ff.

[7] To these words possibly belongs O. E. *bealdor* O. N. *baldr* (Brugmann § 248). Cp. below, p. 39.

[8] See Brugmann, § 312 ff.

sceffid, O. N. skapaðr 'creator' [cp. *-to-* forming abstracts and words with a passive sense in relation to the vb.] Note also *-ti-* and *-tu-*, forming nom. actionis, which, however, by sense-development, very often pass into person-designating words and then get a secondary character of nom. ag., e. g. Goth. hliftus 'thief'; Skr. mantuš 1) 'Ratschlag' 2) 'Ratgeber'; dhūti-š 'Schütteln' and 'Schüttler'

-u̯es-, *-u̯os-*, *-us-*[1], used to form active pa. ptc., sometimes substantivized, e. g. Goth. bērusjōs 'parents' (Brugmann § 450), to which suffix also belongs *-u̯ot-*, e. g. Goth. weitwōds 'Zeuge'.

It is impossible that a word formed with one of these last suffixes should still be felt in O. E. as an ag.-n. to the *primitive word*. On the other hand, it sometimes happens that such a word is felt as ag.-n. of a *secondary verb*, which, in its turn, is often formed from the obscured ag.-n. in question. So O. E. *weard* 'watchman, guardian' may possibly be felt in O. E. as ag.-n. of the secondary verb *weard-ian* 'to watch over, guard, possess' (but not of *warian*, G. *wahren* : $\sqrt{u̯er}$, with the same sense); I leave out of consideration, then, the fact that the word is originally abstract (being a *tu*-formation, cp. O. N. *vǫrðr*), for it has obtained agential meaning very early, and the corresponding abstract word is a formation with suffix *-tā-*, O. E. *weard*, *f.* 'watch'.

I. Suffix I. E. -o-.

1. Masculine words.

Original character of agential o-stems.

Subsequently to Grimm[2] and Jacobi,[3] these words have been treated of by Zimmer (1876), who has made an all but exhaustive collection of them, yet, of course, with many words wrongly classed with them.[4]

[1] See Brugmann, § 442 ff.

[2] Deutsche Grammatik; Geschichte d. deutschen sprache 1848.

[3] Untersuchungen über die bildung d. Nomina in den germ. sprachen, Breslau 1847.

[4] Zimmer's material need scarcely be completed, but only sorted and sifted to a considerable extent. A Germanist, certainly, will not be so incautious as to build upon Zimmer's statements, but to a comparative philologist it may be useful to have a supplement to his work, or to part of it. As regards the nom. actionis, such a supplement of a most reliable and valuable kind was afforded by v. Bahder (1880), and another work also completing it (as far as English is concerned) is Palmgren, Gradation-nouns (1904).

The principal rule for the formations with suff. *-o-* (a rule which is still to be observed in Skr. and Gr.[1]) is that the suffix formed *nom. actionis* stressed on the *stem*, and *nom. agentis* stressed on the *suffix*, e. g. Skr. *bháras* 'das Tragen, Bürde', *-bharás* 'tragend' in *vāja-bharás* 'den Preis davon-tragend', Gr. *φόρος* 'Beitrag, Steuer', *-φορός* 'tragend',

In the case of nom. act., a change of gender has often taken place: masc. > neut. Cp. v. Bahder p. 39 ff.

As regards the *ablaut-grades* of the words, Gr. *φόρος*, *-φορός* (= Skr. *bháras*, *-bharás*) show the original state of things[2], which, as far as nom. actionis are concerned, has also been shown to hold true for the Teutonic languages.[3] Formations with present-time vowel, which are much rarer, are declared by Brugmann and v. Bahder to be younger, and the latter scholar regards them as being especially characteristic of West Teut. languages. Besides, v. Bahder, in passing[4], makes a statement as to '*schwächste* oder mittlere Wurzelstufe' for the ag.-n. of this type, and cites Osthoff, PBB 3, p. 17 ff. (wrongly, cp. below, p. 31).

Thus, the only difference between nom. ag. and nom. act. formed with suffix *-o-* is the place of the stress. In the Teut. languages we can, consequently, decide the original character of a word as being nom. ag. or nom. act. only in such cases where the original stressing can be ascertained by means of Verner's law.[5] One must always reckon with the possibility of changes of sense, and often one cannot get any further than to state what gives the most natural explanation and, consequently, is most likely, or what is the semological function of a word at a certain period and in a certain dialect.

Material discussed.

What interests us here is, as was indicated above (p. 18), whether, among the orig. ag.-n. of this type, there are any that cannot be regarded as altogether obscured in O. E. For that purpose, we need only consider the material given by Zimmer on pp. 28—46, and can quite disregard the words given on pp. 46—65, whose etymology is obscure, and which are given also by Zimmer

[1] Cp. Brugmann § 90, Lindner p. 17.

[2] Brugmann, § 92.

[3] Cp. v. Bahder p. 35.

[4] p. 42.

[5] And even then analogy may have changed the original state of things. Cp. Brugmann § 90, p. 152.

with reserve. Of the words given there, the following belong to O. E. — such of the words as were obscured already in Teutonic times are given in brackets and thus eliminated:

1. *Root of intr. sense*

scric, sprinʒ, steort, stinʒ 'Stachel' (possibly *ja*-st.), [*finc* 'finch', *seolh* 'seal', *dæʒ* 'day', *swan*], *hōf*, [*hrōc* 'crow', cp. Goth. secondary *hrūkjan* 'to crow', *wāl* 'vortex', *snāw* 'snow', *mæw* 'gull, mew'], *scrid, hrūt, sprēot, drēor, rēac, sēað* [*ðēaw* 'custom'], *eorp*. The word *skarfr* 'cormorant' is only given as O. N., but occurs also in O. E. *scræf*.

With reserve Zimmer gives, as belonging here:

lēod 'prince', *lēad* 'man' (though he queries its existence), *scēat*, [*dēaw* 'dew'].

2. *Root of tr. sense.*

beorʒ, borʒ, [*wolf, scop*], *wearʒ*, [*ham* 'cover', cp. the secondary Goth. vb *-hamōn* 'to clothe'], *ðwanʒ, feald* 'fold', *steald* and *ʒestealdʒ* 'Herr, owner', *wand, scær (scear)*, [*ʒnæt*, 'gnat', *hæʒ* (haʒa), *læt* 'Freigelassener', *cealf* 'calf' (is, moreover, *os- es-* st.), *hōc* 'hook', *āð* 'pile', *cosp* 'fetter'], *bēod, ēad, drēaʒ* 'Gespenst', *ʒenēat, -waldr* in personal names.

More uncertain, according to Zimmer, are:

[*stæf* 'staff', *māt* 'cuneus', given with reserve; the word does not exist at all].

Even of those of the above words that have not been enclosed in brackets, a great many must be eliminated as misunderstood:

a) *as not existing,* i. e., not given in BT., Sw., Cl.-H., Gr.-K., or Nap:

eorp as a sb., only an adj., 'brown, dark', O. N. *járpr-;* with other ablaut *earp* (quoted from Ettm.); *lēad* (quoted from Ettm.) 'man'; the word means only 'lead', which sense occurs also in O. E. *leadstæf*, from which word Zimmer thinks that Ettm. has possibly assumed the word. If the sense of 'man' really occurs for the word, then it must be the word *leod* in a dialectal by-form[1], but such a by-form of that word is not recorded either by BT. or Gr.-K.; *drēaʒ* 'Gespenst'[2]; *(ʒe)steald* 'Herr'; only *ʒestealdʒ* occurs, but that is a neut. word meaning 'dwelling-place'. Nor does *haʒostealdʒ* 'bachelor, virgin', belong here, since it is a cons. st.

[1] Cp. Bülbring §§ 112, 114.

[2] "Only record" is Sal. 44, for which see ib. (Ags. Poesie III 2, 60) and cp. foot-note.

b) *as wrongly classified* (besides *cealf*, see above):

scrid 'carriage' is neut.; so also *ēad*.

rēac, rīec, rēc is an *i*-st.; so also *lēod*[1] (cp. above *lēad*); *ȝefeald* (simplex *feald* unrecorded, cp. *falod*) neut.?; at any rate, no ag.-n., as prefix *ȝe-* indicates, cp. Gr.-K. for this word; *falod* 'fold' is not formed by means of *o*-suff.; perhaps also *scrīc* is no orig. *o*-stem, cp. below p. 24 f.

c) *as wrongly interpreted etymologically:*

hōf 'hoof', 'der sich hebende' *(: hebban)* according to Zimmer; cp. Fick 90; *beorȝ* 'mountain', 'der bergende' *(: beorȝan)* acc. to Zimmer; better with Persson, Beitr. 21 note 5, as an original adj. 'hoch, erhaben'.

d) *as nom. actionis:*

stinȝ, stynȝ 'pricking', the sense of 'sting' not recorded in O. E. Whether *stinȝ* or *stynȝ* (prim. Teut. **stenȝoz* or **stunȝiz*), cp. Palmgren, pp. 34, 75.

sprinȝ 1) source of water, spring 2) sprinkling 3) pustule (cp. O. H. G. *gesprinc* 'pustule') < **sprenȝoz* (perhaps also **sprunȝiz*)[2], cp. N. E. *spring* (not **springe*) and cp. O. S. *gi-spring* 'well', O. H. G. *(ga)spring*. In cpp. such as *upspring* 'ortus (solis)' the word is a clear nom. act., and that such is its original character is also rendered likely by the forms with prefix *ga-*, which we meet with in O. H. G. *gesprinc, gaspring*.[3]

bēod 'table': *bēodan* 'bieten'. Original sense not to be ascertained, but likely to have been nom. act.; thus 'Bieten' > 'Platz wo das Essen geboten wird'.[4]

sēað 'pit, hole, well', O. Frs. *sāth*, M. H. G. *sôt*, gen. *sôdes* 'Kochen, Wallen': *seoðan*. The original character of nom. act. is proved by the consonant, which indicates stressing of the stem, thus < **sáuþoz* 'sieden'.[5]

borȝ 1) security 2) person who gives security, fideiussor, common law-term.[6] In view of the sense of the word in cpp., e. g. *borhbryce* 'pledge-breaking', and the existence in several dialects of an ag.-n. derived from this very *borȝ*, viz. O. E. *byrȝa*, 'one who gives security', O. Frs. *burga*, M. L. G. *borge*, O. H. G. *purigo* 'Bürge', the original sense is likely to have been actional.

e) *as desubstantive:*

ȝeneat 'Genosse', for which see excursus, p. 32.

After this weeding out of Zimmer's material, there should thus remain twelve words which are *possibly* ag.-n., and which have the primitive word retained, at least in *prim. Teut.*, viz.

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[1] Cp. Sievers Ags. Gr. §§ 261, 264.

[2] Cp. Palmgren pp. 34, 75.

[3] As regards the pref. *ga-* as evidence of nom. act., see v. Bahder p. 198 ff.

[4] Cp. NED beod, Uhlenbeck PBB 30, p. 268. Etymology not quite certain.

[5] It is also most unlikely that O. E. *ð-* (not *d*) should here be due to analogy with the verb. In O. E. at least, the association with the verb is totally obscured, cp. heht scufan scyldiȝne in *driȝne seað* El. 693.

[6] Cp. Liebermann II: 1 p. 26.

scric, steort, hrut, sprēot, drēor, scēat, wearʒ, þwanʒ, wand, scear, scræf, -weald, which may be the subject of a short discussion. Then there are two words that have been wrongly classified as neut. by Zimmer, viz. *flēot* and, at least in all probability, *hæf*, and one word regarded by Zimmer as nom. act., viz. *bēaʒ*. By the side of these words still another may at least be discussed, viz. *wræc*.

Of these words a few are obscured in O. E., since the verb from which they are derived is extinct in O. E. (or unrecorded).

a) ***Primitive words not recorded in O. E.***

scræf 'cormorant', O. N. *skarfr;* cp. with *-an(-ōn)*-extension O. H. G. *scarba*, f., *scarbo*, m.
: Teut. *skerƀ-*, 'einen schnarrenden Laut geben', cp. O. N. *skrafa* 'to talk, chatter'.[1]

scrīc 'thrush' is interpreted by Zimmer as 'die springende, hüpfende', and he compares it to O. H. G. *houscric* 'grasshopper'[2]. Zimmer thus assumes ĭ to be the stem-vowel. The records of the word are: *scric* turdus Ep. 1013, Co. T 324; gl. structio Harl. gl. Zup. 65[3]; *screc* turdus Erf. 1013;[4] *scruc* turdus Leid. XLVII 63.[5]

The vowel, however, must be regarded as long, cp. N. E. *shrike* and *screech*, and thus Zimmer's etymology must be rejected. Then it seems a little too daring to eliminate, without further ceremony, the Erf. form *screc* as wrong, when N. E. *screech* and *shrike* are compared, and when the great variety of forms in onomatopoetical formations is considered[6]. Note also O. N. *skrækr* 'Geschrei'. I assume two words: 1) O. E. *scrīc* < prim. Teut. **skrīk-*, cp. O. N. *skríkja* 'to chirp, twitter'[7], O. S. *scrīcōn* and O. N. *skríkja*, f. 'femina gigas' (Eg.); 2) O. E. *scrēc* (Anglian) = W. S. **scrēc* < prim. Teut. **skrāk-*, cp. O. N. *skrækr* 'Geschrei', *skrækja*, vb.[8]

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[1] Fick 457, Suolahti 393.

[2] He might still, in support of his etymology, have compared *þrōstle* < **þramstala*, cp. Goth. *þramstei* 'locusta' and O. S. *thrimman* 'to jump, spring'.

[3] Cp. strutio struta Cl. gl. 258[6]. The above glossing must be due to misunderstanding.

[4] *screc* wrong form, accord. to Sweet, OET. ibid. Cp. below.

[5] Probably, with Hessels, Leid. gl. p. 208 (turdus) and 234 (scruc) to be regarded as written for *scriic*.

[6] Cp. Persson, Wurzelerweiterung, p. 194, where also some relatives of this word are discussed. Perhaps even the form *scruc* (Leid.) must not be eliminated.

[7] Thorkelsson I.

[8] The probability that this etymology is, beyond any doubt, the right one, is also supported by the meaning of the word. In all those glosses where *scric*

O. N. *skrækr*, however, is an *i*-stem and nom. actionis. As for the O. E. words, there is no internal evidence to show what stem they belong to, nor what their original function was.[1] Onomatopoetical words of this kind may have been readily used as nom. ag. and nom. act., without any difference in form. If the word in O. E. was felt to mean anything at all literally, it must have been as an ag.-n., i. e. '*shrieker*'. Probably there already existed in O. E. a corresponding vb, cp. M. E. *shriken*, *shrichen*, the dates and dialects and forms of the earliest records of which point to the existence, even in O. E., of a vb. **scrīcan* or **scrīcian*.[2]

steort 1) 'tail' 2) 'promontory': prim. Teut. **stertan* III, M. H. G. *sterzen*, O. N. *sterta*, M. E. *sterten* (cp. O. E. *steartlian*). Original sense likely to have been 'der steif emporragende'[3].

wearȝ 'outlaw, felon', O. H. G. *warg*, *warc*, O. N. *vargr*, Goth. *launavargs*, L. (Lex. Sal.) *vargus* 'geächteter': prim. Teut. **werȝan* III 'einschnüren, würgen', M. H. G. *erwergen*. This sense will be the original one, though the sense of 'wolf' must have been developed already in prim. Teut., cp. O. N. *wargr* 'wolf' and O. E. *wierȝen* 'she-wolf'. Sütterlin (p. 3) gives this word as the only O. E. example of an *o*-formation which in prim. Teut. possibly still retained its agential character, and it is the word taken by comparative philologists as a typical example of this category of old ag.-n. in Teut. languages. Now the word is not quite generally accepted as a nom. ag. in the sense here used. Kauffmann assumes the original meaning to have been 'einer der (zur strafe) eingeschnürt worden ist, dem eine Halskette umgelegt ist'.[4] In that case, we have to do with a noun with passive sense in relation to the verb.

In O. E., at any rate, the word is isolated (cp. wierȝan, 1, 'to curse').

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occurs as a gloss of *turdus*, also *þrostle* occurs as a gloss of *turdella*. *Scric* is evidently the larger of the two usual Engl. thrush varieties, the *misselthrush*, just the species which is known for the harsh cries it utters (cp. Encycl. Brit.: *trush*, and cp. Whitman JGPh II 158.

[1] Holthausen, IF. 20,330 gives a parallel from *It.*, viz. *scriccio* 'Zaunkönig' < *W. Teut. *skrikkio* 'Schreier', ag.-n. formed with *ia*-suff. to O. S. *scrīcōn*. For the O. E., however, such. a *ia*-formation cannot be assumed, since the form of the word would then be **scrīce*, unless the actual form *scrīc* is a blending between an ag.-n. **scrīce* and a nom. act. *scrēc*.

[2] Ab. 1200: Trin. Coll. Hom. 181: elch wimman - - þan hie beð mid childe bistonden - - *shrikeð* and reuliche biginneð (N. E. D.). Ab. 1225 Owl & Night.: *schrichen* (*schirchen*) (Stratmann). — For the N. E. forms of the vb. and sb., see also Björkman, Loan-words p. 131.

[3] Cp. Falk-Torp; Persson, Beitr. 433; Ehrismann, Etymologien PBB 20,50.

[4] Kauffmann PBB 18,175 ff., where earlier explanations of the word are referred to. Cp. also Falk-Torp; Mikkola, Wörter u. Sachen 2,218; Schrader, Reallexikon pp. 836, 965.

þwanʒ, 'thong, strip of leather', *sceōna þwanʒa* 'shoe-strings', O. H. G. *dwang, thwang* and *dwing*, O. N. *þvengr*: O. H. G. *dwingan*, O. S. *thwingan*: I. E. *√tu̯enk*.[1] In these words, the *h*-forms have been altogether superseded by the *g*-forms, so that the final consonant does not prove original stressing of an ag.-n. Fick, ibid., gives prim. Teut. **þwanʒi-* which is right for O. N., but not for the W. Teut. forms. Certainly an original nom. act. must. be assumed, thus:
prim. Teut. **þu̯ánχoz* > **þu̯anʒa* > O. H. G. *dwang, thwang*, N. H. G. *zwang*, O. Frs. *thwang*, Sw. *tvång*, Dan. *tvang*.
Whether O. E. *þwang* is this word or a later adaptation to the *o*-stems of an original *i*-stem, thus = **þu̯anʒiz* > O. N. *tvengr*, I leave undecided, though the former alternative seems more likely.[2]

b) ***Primitive words still living in O. E.***

1) *Original sense uncertain (possibly agential), not felt as ag.-n. in O. E.*

hæf 'leaven' : *hebban* VI, 'heave, raise', thus originally 'Heber', i. e. 'Teig-heber', or nom. act. 'fermentation', cp. O. H. G. *urhab* 'causa, fermentum, urheber' and *hefo, hefilo*, weak m. 'Hefe, leaven', nom. ag. The O. E. word was given correctly as *hæf* by Zimmer, but is given wrongly as *hæfe* (*hefe*) by BT., Sw., and Fick, in which last dictionary the original form is declared to be **hafja*. Only one record, then, seems to be referred to, viz. Mk. 8,15: warniað fram herodes *hæfe* — cavete a fermento Herodis. Note, however, also Harl. gl. 236[42]: fermentum *hæf* uel beorma, and Nap. gl. 57,3: fermentum, i. condimentum ł blandimentum *hæf*.[3] O. E. gender not to be ascertained (Zimmer supposed neut.), but cp. O. H. G. *urhab* m. n., D. *hef* m., and cp. the semologically probably parallel formations, O. H. G. *hefo, hefilo* m., which render the m. gender probable.

[1] Fick 196.

[2] There are a great number of different forms of this word. Cp. O. H. G. *dwing, gadwing*, with later adaptation to the vowel of the present (< **þ̲u̯en̲ʒoz*), nom. act., and. Sw. dial. *tving* (well-known to the author), 'small wedge', esp. one used to fasten the scythe to its handle. Also weak forms occur, M H. G. *dwenge*.

[3] It is really surprising that the said lexicographers, even if knowing only the record Mk. 8,15, could have assumed a *ja*-stem. If it were a *ja*-stem, the dat. form would have been **hebbe* < W. Teut. **hafjai* (cp. Sievers Ags. gr. § 227), and the nom. of the word would be **heb(b)*. Sweet seems to have noticed that difficulty and avoided it by assuming a regular O. E. form **hefe*, thus an *i*-st. (wrongly). — Cp. *hefe*, m. 'weight' < **χafiz*, a different word.

In O. E. the word has become formally distinct from its verb.

scēat, 'corner, projection; garment; lap; surface' etc., (see BT): *scēotan* II in the intr. original sense of 'project'[1], cp. O. H. G. *scōz* m., O. N. *skaut*, n., Goth. *skauts*, m. < **skauta-*.

In O. E. the word has become semologically distinct from its verb.

sprēot 'pole' : **sprūtan* II (**sprēotan*), cp. N. E. *sprout*, which pre-supposes such an O. E. vb. — Sb. and vb. formally and semologically distinct.

wand 'mole' : *windan* III 1) tr. 'wind, twist' 2) intr. 'to turn, move'; originally 'winden, sich winden'.[2] Zimmer interprets the word as 'der die Erde umwendende', which cannot be reconciled with the sense of the verb. Jordan thinks (ibid.) that wand is 'Kurzform' for the original and more usual *wandeweorpe*, an impossible supposition, since this so-called "kurzform" exists both as an independent word and as the last element of cpp. in G. and in Scand. dialects (cp. foot-note below). And what might this *wand* in *wandeweorpe* mean then? On the contrary, the addition of *-weorpe* is later, and has taken place on account of the obscured etymology of the word, and because of influence from some word corresponding to O. H. G. *multwurf*, *moltwerfe*. Fick (ibid.) assumes that the animal has received its name from its 'eigentümlich gebogenen Tatzen', thus '*der gebogene, der sich windende*', which does not seem impossible. Another possibility that occurs to me is that wand is a substantivized adj., meaning either '*the crooked one*', cp. O. N. *vindr* 'schief, gekrümmt', an explanation which in reality tallies with the explanation in Fick, or '*the shy one*', cp. O. E. *wandian* 'to hesitate, flinch, stand in awe of'. In contrast to Schuldt,[3] I regard this vb as formed, not from the vb *windan*, but from an O. E. adj. **wand* 'hesitating, shy, ängstlich', for compare O. N. *vandr* 'genau, ängstlich, wählerisch' and the vb. *vanda* 'genau, wählerisch sein', with which it should certainly be identified. Then the O. E. sb. might simply be that adj. substantivized. In any case, the original meaning will be '*der sich windende*', though the exact import of this is difficult to decide.

[1] Falk-Torp 'skyde'.

[2] Fick 390. For O. E. records of this word and for corresponding words in other languages, s. Jordan p. 75.

[3] Bildung der Verba im Altengl. § 27.

In O. E. not associated with *windan*, as the above-mentioned addition of *-weorpe* shows.[1]

2) *Original sense agential, not felt as ag.-n. in O. E.*

bēaȝ 'ring, bracelet, crown' : *būȝan* II 'to bow', given as nom. act. by Zimmer, but more likely to be nom. ag., cp. Skr. *bhōgá-* 'Windung, Ring', the accentuation of which points to an orig. ag.-n. In O. E. altogether distinct from the verb.

-drēor [2] 'blood, cruor' (cp. *blōd*, n. 'sanguis', also 'cruor'), : *drēosan* II 'to fall'; O. S. *drōr*, O. H. G. *trōr*, O. N. *dreyri*, n. The originally agential sense is proved by the consonant; prim. Teut. **ðreuzós*, resp. **ðrauzós* 'der fallende, rinnende'.

-weald : wealdan, VII, would, of course, still be felt as an ag.-n., but the word exists only as the last element of cpp. in proper names.[3] As for its originally agential character, cp. O. N. *valdr*, which will certainly have been one of the inducing morphemes giving new vitality to this mode of ag.-formation in Scand.[4]

3) *Original sense probably agential, probably felt as ag.-n. in O. E.*

-flēot 'raft, ship, vessel', also 'bay, gulf, river' : *flēotan* II 'to float'. Zimmer gave the word as neut., cp., however, *fleotas* æstuaria Ep. Erf. 107; cp. O. N. *fljót*, n. 'river' (in proper names), O. H. G. *flōz*, m.

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[1] Fick assumes a prim. Teut. form **wandu-*, *u*-st., in which case the word would not belong here. The adduced Norw. dial.-forms *wond*, *moldwond* (beside *wand*) afford, however, no evidence of that. On the contrary, this supposition is refuted by the composition-joint in the O. E. cp. (Ep. 1045) *uuandœuuiorpæ*, (Erf.) *uuandœuuerpe* (cp. M. L. G. *windeworp*), which composition-vowel is remarkable under any circumstances, it is true, but which must be regarded as indicating an *o*-stem — an *ā*-stem is impossible, on account of 'Flurnamen' such as *Wandesford* — where it is retained, contrary to the rule. Cp. also Bergsten Cpp. sb. in Engl., p. 32.

[2] Zimmer and Fick also give O. E. *drēar* as a rarer form; BT. and Sw. do not mention such a form, nor do any of BT.'s instances of *drēor* show that vowel. If there should be a form *drear* found anywhere, that form must be minutely investigated as to the character of its record, because it might go back to **ðreuza*, equally well as to **ðrauza*.

[3] When the cp. word *onwald*, Ph. 511, denotes a person, this must be regarded as a personifying of an abstract word, a procedure not unusual in O. E. poetry. e. g. *wisdom* Metr. 6,1, and not as a record of an old ag.-n. The sense of G. *Anwalt* as denoting persons is secondary, the ag.-n. is O. H. G. only *ana-walta* = O. E. *anwealda*.

[4] Cp. Zimmer pp. 41 and 181, Sütterlin p. 3, Falk p. 7.

'Flut, strömung', M. H. G. *flōz,* m. 'ratis'. Both meanings thus seem to belong to a common Teutonic language. It seems more natural to assume two different formations than change of sense from 'Flut' > 'Floss'. In the sense of 'ship, vessel',[1] the word is likely to have been felt as an ag.-n. in O. E., which is also the most natural original meaning that suggests itself, whereas in the sense of 'æstuaria' the original sense will better be regarded as actional, cp. O. E. *flōd,* G. *Flut,* Sw. *flöde* etc., all originally nom act. The neut. gender in O. N. is evidently a change that has taken place in that particular language.[2]

hrūt : *hrūtan* II 'to snore'. Record: balidus *hrut* Cl. gl. 361[13]. Ettm. compares it to O. N. *hrútr* 'ugildet væder' 'ram', and explains balidus = balans animal, cp. *hryte* balidinus Ælfc. voc 163[18]. BT. gives *ū* or *ŭ* and so also in the case of *hrȳte.* In *hryte,* however, *y* must be long, or the form would be **hryt(t),* consequently also *hrūt,* of which it is a *ja*-derivation.

scear, *scer, scær* 'a plough-share', O. H. G. *scar, -o* : *sceran* IV. Glosses vomer and forfex. The form *scer* occurs only in texts, e. g. Cl. gl., where it can and should be explained as due to late palatalisation, not as formed with present -t. -vowel. All O. E. forms, consequently, point to prim. Teut. **scaroz.*

I also mentioned another word, viz.

wræc, which is, however, a most dubious word, translated by BT. as 'what is driven'. Records: *uuræc* actuaris Ep. 87, *uræc* Erf. ib., *wraec* actuarius Co. A 135.

Now, the sense of the word would not be difficult to fix, if the source of the gloss could be found.[3] BT. seems to identify the word with O. N. *rek* n., *hafrek, vágrek* 'what is driven (driving) on the sea'.[4] In that case, the lemma would occur in a passage with the meaning of 'navis quæ velo et remis similiter agitur',[5] in which sense the word *actuaria,* sb. or adj., sometimes is found. The form actuari*us,* certainly, is not to be expected in that case, but may, of course, be due to normalizing by the scribe. In another passage, actuarius is glossed 'acta qui facit' Ep. 4 AB 15,[6] which is also the

[1] The modern sense of 'fleet' not found until M. E.

[2] See also Schnepper p. 51.

[3] Perhaps it is, but it has at least escaped my attention. Not given by Gruber in his work 'Die Hauptquellen des Co. Ep. and Erf. gl.' (Erl. 1904).

[4] Of course, not complete identity, since there are different vowels in the words. Cp. also Wessén Germ. n-dekl., p. 101.

[5] Diefenbach.

[6] Schlutter's edition of the glossary.

usual meaning of the word. Often in Med. L. actuarius stands in the common sense of 'actor, *qui agit*', nom. ag. of agere (cp. Du Ca), and it may not be quite impossible that this is the sense here occurring, cp. *wræc* egit Ep. Erf. 90, *wrecende* agens, etc. Then the word would mean 'driver', probably with some specialized sense that is not to be ascertained; cp. also O. E. *ærendwreca* 'messenger' : *ærende wrecan* = *ærende bēodan*. In that case, the word would be formally identical with Goth. *wraks* m. 'verfolger' *διώκτης* (T. 1,13).

At any rate, the word belongs to *wrecan* V, of which it is likely to be a nom. ag., unless, possibly, the sense-relation to the verb is passive.

The above collection, based on Zimmer, will probably include all O. E. masc. *o*-stems to be considered in this connection. I have also looked through Sweet's dictionary for such words, without coming across any other words calling for discussion here.[1] It will be seen, then, that, of the *O. E. masc. o-stems* with an etymology transparent at least in Teutonic times, there are only a very few for which original agential meaning can be proved, or even for which an agential meaning must be supposed to have been felt in O. E., whether this agential character was original or due to change of sense. Only in ***hrūt***, ***scear***, ***flēot*** and possibly, or probably, ***wræc*** and ***scrīc***, have we to do with words that were felt as ag.-n. in O. E. In all other words of this category, the association of the derived noun with its verb is lost, on account of formal or semological differentiation.

Ablaut-grade of masc. agential o-stems.

The morphological character of the discussed formations, as regards *Ablaut*, can only be settled after a broader investigation working with Germanic material and considering also the nom. actionis. Different opinions have been expressed on this

[1] Somebody may suggest such a word as *flēah* 'flea' : *flēon* II (generally *flēa*, weak m. or f.), but that is probably an original cons. st., cp. NED. *flea*. — Of course, it is possible that more minute researches than I have thought necessary to make for this preliminary part of my treatise may unearth some word or other which is as worthy of consideration in this connection as, e. g. *bēaʒ*, but other words than those given that were felt as ag.-n. in O. E. will probably not be found. Cp. also the material given by Palmgren.

point by Jacobi[1] (pres.- or pret.-t.-vowel), Amelung[2] (p. ptc. vowel), Zimmer (Ablaut varying and unessential), and v. Bahder (pret.- or pa. ptc.-vowel, cp. above p. 21).[3] Here it may be quite enough to state that, of the words given above (p. 24) as *possibly* agential masc. *o*-stems, 1) *pret.-t.-vowel* occurs in *scræf*, *wearȝ*, *þwanȝ*, *scēat*, *wand*, *bēaȝ*, *scear* and *wræc*; 2) *pres.-t.-vowel* occurs in *steort*, *bēod*, *sprēot*, *hæf*, *flēot*, *drēor*, *-weald*, *hrūt* (in *hæf* and *-weald* = p.ptc.-vowel), of which *flēot* and *drēor* reveal themselves as later formations beside forms with pret.-t.-vowel, cp. O. H. G. *flôz* and *trôr* 3) *p. ptc.-vowel* occurs in no case (except where identical with pres.-t.-vowel). This circumstance may be very inconclusive, yet it may be noticed that it is in agreement with the rules given by Brugmann (cp. above, p. 21) for I. E. words formed with *o*-suff. in general. And a look at those words from Zimmer's material (for all the Teutonic dialects) that are most likely to be original ag.-n. will strenghten this conclusion. Thus, when v. Bahder (p. 42) gives »*schwächste* oder mittlere stufe» and cites Osthoff, PBB 3,17 ff. this is probably due to a misunderstanding of Osthoff on the part of v. Bahder, who seems to have taken Osthoff's rule for the ablaut of nom. ag. formed with *-an-* suff. to hold true for I. E. agent-formations generally. Weak ablaut-vowel, at any rate, occurs only exceptionally, as regards the Teutonic branch of the I. E. languages[4].

Nom. actionis > nom. ag.

As has already been indicated several times, many words that appear as ag.-n. in O. E. may be orig. nom. act. As a word of that type, *borȝ* 'Bürge' has already been mentioned.[5] As another example of such a word, I may mention:

andfenȝ gl. *susceptor* Reg. Ps. 41^{9}, 53^{6}, $58^{10, 17}$, 88^{27}, 90^{2}, 143^{2}, Eadw. Ps. ib. and also 3^{4}, $45^{8, 12}$, 118^{114}. It occurs, besides, in its original meaning of '*susceptio*', e. g. Reg. Ps. 82^{9} (Eadw. Ps. *onfengnes*). The usual ag.-n. is here *andfencȝa* or *an(d)fōnd*.

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[1] Untersuchungen über die Bildung d. Nomina in den germ. sprachen, Breslau 1847 p. 15 ff.

[2] Über den Ursprung der deutschen a-Vokale, Hpt. Zs. XVIII p. 161 ff.

[3] Cp. also C. Palmgren (p. 23 f.) who gives a good account of different opinions.

[4] In Greek, e. g., we also meet with formations of this type with weak stem-vowel, and, when occurring, such formations easily allow of explanation. Cp. Hirt, Handbuch d. griech. Laut- u. Formenlehre § 316, Brugmann, II: 1 § 92 p. 155.

[5] Cp. also p. 28, foot-note 3.

Excursus.

Words of the type of ȝesīð.

There is a certain group of words — all desubstantive nouns — that, strictly speaking, must not be reckoned as nom. ag., though sometimes they have got a verb by their side; these nouns rather *characterize* the person in question than denote him as performing an action. Sometimes, it is true, they seem to have obtained a secondary function of expressing the performer of an action *by the side of* their specific and essential function, but that is due to the character of the primitive word of expressing some sort of action — for example, *ȝesīð* — or to (secondary) association with the verb from which the primitive word is derived — for example, possibly *ȝebūr*, *ȝenēat*. The words in question may, however, be given:

ȝebēor 'guest, conviva': *bēor*, 'beer', only in prose, e. g. Bd III 1042, Ælfc Hom. I 484[1], 528[9], 534[4] II 54_3; Harl. gl. 213[15], Scint. 36 a and in many other places.

ȝebūr 'dweller, husbandman, farmer', as law-term 'Landmann untersten Freienstandes' (Liebermann): *būr*, 'cottage, dwelling', not directly: *būan*, as BT. gives it. Prose-word, chiefly glosses: colonus *ȝibuur* Ep. 163, Co. C 513, Cl. gl. 276[7], 369[16] *(ȝebyr);* sumes rices mannes tun wæs, in þam his *ȝebur* hæfde sunu Greg. 11[4]; Assm. Ælfc XVIII 166.[1]

Cpp. *nēahȝebūr* 'neighbour', exceedingly common word, orig. *nēah* + *ȝebūr*,[1] and

tūnȝebūr 'a tenant in villenage'.

ȝelēod 'Landsmann': *lēod* 'people'. Occurs Ine 11.

ȝenēat, O. S. *ganôt*, O. Frs. *nât*, O. H. G. *ganôz(o)*, O. N. *nautr*, *fǫru-nautr:* prim. Teut. **nautoz* 'property', O. N. *nautr* m. 'wertvoller Besitz', cp. *naut*, n. 'Vieh', thus orig. meaning 'one who shares property with another'. Records: By. 310[2], Gen. B 284, Ine 19, 22, Rect. 2. Also in cpp.

bēodȝenēat B. 343, 1713 and

heorðȝenēat B. 261, 1580, 2180, 2418, 3179, By. 204.

[1] Cp. Kauffmann, Altdeutsche Genossenschaften, Wörter u. Sachen 2 p. 28 ff.

[2] by some read *eald-ȝenēat*.

The O. E. sense of the word is 'Gefolgsmann,-leute', esp. those of princes, but it is also a juridical term, 'Bauer vom Grossgut abhängig'.[1]

ȝesīð, O. S. *gi-sîð*, O. Frs. *sîð* 'Gefährte, companion', also 'Gefolgsadliger',[2] a very common word in O. E. poetry and prose. : O.E. *sīþ*, prim. Teut. **senþa* - m. n. 'journey'; cp. Goth. *gasinþja* with *jan*-, and O. H. G. *gisindo* with *an*-formation. Cp. also the secondary verb *sīðian* 'to go, travel'.

Cpp. *ealdȝesīþ* B. 853, An. 1104; *dryhtȝesīþ* F. 42, and *folcȝesīþ*, both meaning 'nobles of the country' with a by-sense of 'warriors', Gen. 2134, Dan. 412, Metr. 1,70; *wēaȝesīþ* 'companion in misery and wickedness', Jud. 16, Wulfst. 145[4], 225[33], Nap. gl. 1,861; 2,18; *willȝesīþ* 'dear companion' B. 23, Gen. 2003.[3]

What is essential in the sense of the given words is, thus, *the participation* of the person *in the action, state*, etc., *expressed by the primitive word.* The prefix *ȝe- (ga-)* has much the same function as the suffix *-ing, -ung*, cp. O. H. G. *būring : gabūro, kuning : gakunni*, O. Frs. *hūsing:* O. E. *ȝehūsa.*[4] That a *ȝesīþ* does travel, perform the action of travelling, is unessential to the formation; what is important is that he is the *companion* of one travelling.

2. Neuter words.

Material discussed.

Zimmer's collection of neut. words is, of course, smaller than that of corresponding m. words. A large number of his words are, moreover, substantivized adjs., which our definition of nom. ag. eliminates; others are obscured, as are also many of his "etymologisch klare Beispiele" — of the "dunkle Beispiele" we need not take any notice at all; some are wrongly classified as n. *o*-stems, e.g. *lamb*, and others are clear nom. actionis or nom. acti, e.g., *ȝebæc* 'baking' and 'batch'.[5] The words thus eliminated are enclosed in brackets.

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[1] Cp. Kauffmann W. u. S. 2 p. 40 ff., who also translates 'Mitnutzer, Teilhaber am Wirtschaftsertrag', rejecting Meringer's explanation, Idg. Forsch. 18,248, 'Mitvieh', 'Knecht'.

[2] Cp. Liebermann II : 2 p. 427 f. under 'Gefolgsadel'.

[3] To the given words such a form as *ȝefēres* , n. pl., Du. Ri. 12, does not belong, of course, since it is a *late* form of *ȝefēra*, *jan*-st.

[4] Kauffmann, W. u. S. 2, p. 28, and literature there quoted.

[5] The form *bæc* given by Zimmer is not recorded. — The sense of 'baking' given on the authority of Sw.; the only O. E. instance of the word, given by B. T., shows, however, only the sense of 'batch, that which ist baked'.

a) *Root intr.*

smolt 'Fett' [*col* 'coal', *þeorf* 'ungesäuertes Brot', *hæf* 'ferment' (see above under masc. *o*-st.), *ceaf* 'chaff', *blæc* 'ink', *mearg* 'marrow', *lamb*, *scanc* 'leg', *sæp* 'juice'], *hweorf* 'joint', *brim* 'surf, sea', *hæf* 'sea' *gēap* 'abyss, gate', *swip* 'whip', *gin* 'gulf', *lið* 'ship', 'people', *flot*, 'sea, fat' [*clif* 'promontorium',[1] *scot*, *dēop* 'abyss', *flēot* 'fleet' (see above under masc. *o*-stems.)].

b) *Root tr.*

him 'Eisdecke', *mæt* 'das abmessende und abgemessene', [*scip*, *sinc*, *þæc*,[2] *fæt*, *geat*, *træf* 'tent', *hæt* 'hat', *sealt*, *scēap*, *fæc* 'space', *mealt*, *gemearr* 'obstacle', *bæc* (see above p. 33), *cræt* 'waggon, chariot', *hōp* 'circulus', *sār* 'wound', *geoc* 'yoke', *grēot*, *nēat*], *nip* 'obscurity, cloud', *hlið* 'lid'.

Besides the words given in brackets, we further eliminate:

a) *as non-existent:*

swip, only *swipu*, f.; *mæt; nip* (only *genip*, cp. below; *him*, cp. O. N. *hem; hweorf*, only *gehweorf*, see b).

b) *as* nothing but *adj.*, possibly substantivized:

smolt, used substantively 'once' (Sw.); *gehweorf; gēap*, ἅπ . λεγ . recorded Ruine 31, where it may quite as well be regarded as an adj.

Instead of *lið* and *hlið*, read *lid* and *hlid*.

On the other hand, *scrid*, wrongly given as masc. by Zimmer, belongs here.

For a more detailed discussion, as possible ag.-n. in O. E., thus remain:

brim, *hæf*, *gin*, *lid*, *flot*, *genip*, *hlid* and *scrid*. Besides these words, I also give *fær* 'vehicle, ship' and *snid* 'saw'.

a) ***Primitive word not recorded in O. E.***

brim, O. N. *brim*, n. 'surf, sea, ocean'. In late O. E. often pl. *brymmas*, e. g. ceald (sic!) *brymmas* Eadw. 12 (A. D. 1065), but in older O.E. *brimu:* O. H. G. *breman* IV 'brummen', prim. Teut. **breman.*

In the whole of Zimmer's material — of course setting aside substantivized adjs and uncertain words — there are only a very few n. words with *pres.-t.- vowel* to be found, viz. *brim*, O. N. *fljót*, (which was shown above, p. 29, to be due to change of gender in O. N.), O. N. *hem*, O. H. G. *sech* 'Pflugschar', and *gawer* 'weapon'. O. H. G. *gawer* reveals itself as a nom. actionis through its *ga*-prefix, and is also regarded as such by Kluge, Et. Wtb. (: *warjan*). When, further, we know that this is a usual and productive type of nom. actionis, it will be rather daring to assume that three isolated words, O. E. *brim*, O. H. G. *sech*, and

[1] cp. *clifian* 'to adhere', another root.

[2] cp. secondary vb *þeccan.*

O. N. *hem*, represent another type, not recorded otherwise, when they can so easily be explained as original nom. actionis. Especially since, as far as the word *brim* is concerned, that explanation seems to be much more probable, since in O. E. it still means 'surf, brandung', a clear nom. actionis, then also 'sea, ocean': in that case, there is not even any necessity of assuming any change of sense from nom. act. > nom. ag. to have taken place.

b) ***Primitive word still living in O. E.***

α) *With pret.-t.-vowel.*

hæf 'sea', poetical word: *hafjan* (Fick); 'das sich erhebende'. In O. E. certainly not associated with the vb (cp. *hæf* 'ferment', p. 26). Whether really originally agential sense is to be assumed, and not rather actional, may be left an open question. Cp. below.

This word is the only O. E. instance of this type. Zimmer gives, however, a fairly large number of such words from other Teut. dialects, though, of course, I can not here devote great attention to them. Yet so much seems to be clear that, after sifting the material according to the principles laid down, it will shrink considerably, and all the words then remaining will be found,

1) not to be nom. ag. in the dialects where they are recorded;

2) often to be nom. act. in these dialects, or to have another non-agential meaning;

3) easily to allow of being explained as original nom. act.

β) *with pa.-ptc.-vowel.*

ȝin, O. N. *gin* 'a gap, opening, abyss': *ȝīnan* I 'to yawn'; ȝarsecȝes *ȝin* 'ocean's expanse' Ex. 430. Also an adj., of which it may be a substantivization.

hlid 'lid, cover', O. Frs. *(h)lid*, n., O. N. *hlið* 'gate', O. H. G. *hlit*: *hlīdan* I 'to cover'

lid 'vessel, ship', poetical word:[1] *līðan* I 'to go, travel, chiefly by sea'. O. N. *lið* 'naval armament' has also been borrowed in O. E., Ags. Chron. A. D. 1069, but is a collective word.

cp. ȳðlid = prec. word. An. 278, 445. Also *ȳðlida*.[1]

scrid 'chariot'[2]: *scrīðan*. Cp. O. E. *scride* 'Lauf', O. H. G. *scrit* 'schritt', O. N. *skriðr*.

flot 'sea, running water', poetical word: *flēotan* II, cp. secondary vb *flotian* 'to float'.

[1] See Schnepper p. 52.

[2] Neuter gender is proved by *þæt scrid* Shrn 71,34. The p. ptc. vowel is shown by *screoda* Phar. 5.

fær 1) 'journey, expedition' 2) 'vehicle, vessel, ship'[1] : *faran* VI Cpp. ***Ælfær*** 'the whole army'; Ex. 67

[*emfar* 'small ship'; Aldh. laude virg. 669][2]

snid 'saw' : *snīþan* 'cut into, hew', cp. *snid* 'slice, cut', *snide* 'slaughter'.

All the quoted words will have been associated in O. E. with their primitive words, though, owing to the specialized concrete sense which they possess, the character of their sense in relation to the vb will not have been very prominent. In the words *hlid, lid, scrid*, and *fær* at least, the sense of nom. ag. is, however, fairly conspicuous. The question is, then, whether this is also their original sense, or whether it is due to change of meaning.

Original sense of the worde discussed.

If we look at the material of *neut. o-stems* with *weak stem-vowel* in v. Bahder and Palmgren, we shall find many such formations with *abstract* sense. Only the said words are met with in O. E. with a *possibly agential* meaning, and of these four words, *fær* shows actional as well as agential meaning, the former of which is likely to be original, cp. such cpp. as *ādfær*, *ūt~*, *in~*, *þurh~* etc. and also the variant *ȝefær*. Also the quoted cp. *ælfær* 'the whole army' will be originally actional, since its sense makes association with *fær* 'expedition', more natural than with *fær* 'ship'. As for *hlid*, it has a synonym *ȝehlid* by its side, of clearly actional origin. *ȝin*, if not an original adj., — as is probable — and *flot* are, of course, no more agential than actional, even from an O. E. point of view.

Thus, when now we find a large group of actional nouns of exactly this morphological structure, and only some very few words that, from an O. E. point of view, should rather be called agential, one should be cautious, in my opinion, in regarding these few words also as being originally agential, especially as in *lid* and *scrid*, the two most important cases, exactly the same change of meaning can occur as seems actually to have taken place in *fær*.[3]

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[1] See Schnepper p. 49.

[2] According to Schnepper, p. 50. Given by Napier in Anecd. Oxon. 1,669: circilo, i. navicula mid *emfare*. With Napier, note ib., I regard the gloss to be inflected form of *emfaru* = *ymbfaru* 'circuit', gloss for circulo, which has been misread for circilo = navicula. The prefix is not to be accounted for otherwise.

[3] cp. of *i*-stems *byre* 'son' orig. 'birth'.

v. Bahder is evidently of the contrary opinion. He regards n. *actional* *o*-stems with weak stem-vowel as secondary formations. He thinks that original nom. ag. have changed sense and passed over into nom. act., whereupon the actional group thus formed has been enlarged by original *i*-stems passing into *o*-stems, thus forming together a productive type of word-formation. As belonging to prim. Teut. he regards only **buða* 'Gebot', **luka* 'Verschluss', **luƀa* 'Lob', perhaps also **ðulʒa* 'Wunde' and **skufa* 'Scherz', in which he sees original nom. ag., possibly nom. acti. I suppose that v. Bahder also regards the words given above as relics from such an original group of nom. ag., or does he regard them as Engl. new-formations — in that case of an abstract type — with change of sense, in the case of at least *lid*, *scrid*, *snid*, *fær*, back to the original meaning of such words?

It seems *a priori* and in itself rather unlikely that this large group of nom. actionis in the old Teutonic vocabulary should have originated in a primitive agential group. And it seems also unlikely that the late n. gender, which was in Teut. particularly ascribed to abstract words, should in this case have been originally ascribed to nom. ag. Of course agential *adj.* could be *substantivized* in their neut. form, and thus this gender could indirectly be ascribed to ag.-n., but that is quite a different thing. What are, then, the reasons alleged by v. Bahder? Upon what does he support his opinion that the words in point start originally from an agential group, of which there are scarcely any traces left? The reason is that »dürfen wir in diesen (**luka* etc.) urspr. Nom. ag. sehen — -- —, so ordnen sie sich dem für diese bestehenden Bildungsgesetz (schwächste oder mittlere Wurzelstufe) unter, das auch bei den Nom. ag. auf *-an-* noch hervortritt, vgl Osthoff PBB III 17 ff.»[1] It is thus the weak vowel of these formations which leads v. Bahder to regard them as original nom. ag. Now, however, the weak vowel of such masc. nom. ag. is most problematical, as far as Germanic languages are concerned at least[2], and so the foundation on which his theory rests is by no means stable.

On the other hand, we often find a weak vowel in abstract formations, not only in *o*-stems, but also in other strong stems, above all in the *i*-stems. In the *o*-stems, strong stem-vowels certainly preponderate, but with many weak forms by their side, and

[1] v. Bahder, p. 41 f.

[2] Cp. above, p. 31.

in the *ō*-stems, we also find a weak vowel, e. g. Goth. *us-waúrpa*, *ga-bruka*, O. E. *notu*, *rudu*, *hulu*, *trodu* (also *trod*, n.). How the origin of these neut. *o*-stems with weak vowel and almost exclusively abstract sense should be explained is an altogether different matter, the settling of which belongs to comparative grammar; but it seems unlikely, from a Germanic point of view, that they should come from nom. ag., since, as has already been said, weak vowel is not original in those either, nor can be shown for certain to have existed at all in the Teutonic languages. Whether thus, e. g., the words discussed are to be supposed to start from original *ō*-formations and then to have developed further on the lines supposed by v. Bahder — cp. Goth. *gabruka* f., O. E. *ȝebroc* n., O. E. *trodu* f. and *trod* n. and other words —, or whether they have originated in some other way is, then, a question which I leave altogether open.

To sum up: of words formed originally with suffix *-o* only a very few are met with in O. E. as living nom. ag., viz. the m. words ***hrūt***, ***scear***, ***flēot*** and possibly, or probably, ***wrœc*** and ***scrīc***[1] and the neut. words ***hlid***, ***lid (ȳð ~)***, ***scrid***, ***fær*** 'ship' ***(œl ~)***, ***snid*** (or rather instrumental). How far the O. E sense also represents the original one is often uncertain.

Of other originally agent-forming suffixes, there is not much to be said from an O. E. point of view. The bulk of the words formed with

II. Suffix I. E. -i-

are nom. actionis. The words belonging here have also been rendered very distinct from the primitive word, on account of the *i*-mutation, though the numerous nom. act. formed with weak vowel represent a living and productive type of word-formation in O. E. Von Bahder[2] regards as original nom. ag. such *i*-stems as have "starke oder gesteigerte Wurzelform". We should thus get a few O. E. *i*-stems that are original nom. ag. and have the vb from which they are derived still living side by side with them.

smīc (**smīec*) 'smoke' < **smauki-* : *smēocan* II 'to smoke'.
rēc (**rīec*) 'smoke' < **rauki-* : *rēocan* II 'to smoke'.
lēod 'prince' : *lēodan* 'to grow'.[3]

[1] Cp. above p. 30.
[2] Verbalabstrakta p. 34.
[3] Cp. above p. 22.

beliȝ 'bellows' < **balȝi-* : *belȝan* III, orig. 'to swell', in O. E. only 'to be angry'.

bend 'ribbon, band' : *bindan*, which, however, shows not only m., but also f. and n. gender (cp. Goth. *bandi*, f.).

In none of the words given is an agential sense *felt* in O. E.

III. Suffix I. E. -ter-

is possibly met with in *ealdor* and *bealdor*, of which the latter is an exclusively poetical word. As for these words, cp. above, p. 19, Kluge, St. l. § 30, Sievers PBB V 523. In O. E. not felt as ag.-n., nor as formed with a suffix O. E.-*dor*, but rather as formed from the adj. *eald* and *beald*. Note such glosses as Reg. Ps. 104,22: *aldras* ł *yldran* seniores; generally *ealdor* is used as gloss to L. princeps.

IV. Suffix I. E. -t-,

which is common and productive in Scand. languages (poetry) in the form *-uþr -aþr*, is probably to be found in O. E. *hacod* (*hæced*) 'pike' : Teut. **hac-* 'hervorspringen, -ragen, spitz sein?'[1] and ***metod*** 'creator', O. H. G. *metod*, O. N. *mjǫtuðr*[2] : *metan* V, of which two words only the latter has the primitive word retained in O. E.; yet the records do not show agential character to be particularly prominent in O. E. *Metod*, which is also recorded as an adj., e. g. se *metoda* Drihten (Ælfc.), occurs only in poetry[3], where it is very usual[4] throughout the O. E. period, e. g., *metudes* mæcti Cædm. 2; hælend wæs middan ȝeardes *meotud* Jü. Ger. 65. It is almost exclusively used of *God*, sometimes also of *fate;* so B. 2527, Seef. 116 (in apposition to *wyrd*), possibly also B. 706 and 907; cp., too, the much discussed passage, Wald. A 19.

Other original *t*-formations have become extinct in O. E., and other words have been substituted for them, e. g., O. H. G. *sceffidh*, O. E. only *sceppend, scyppend* (also O. H. G. *scephant*), O. H. G. *leitid*, cp. O. E. *lāttēow*, *lādman*, or some such word.[5]

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[1] Fick 66. As for O. E. records of this word and etymology, see Köhler, Ae. Fischnamen, p. 40 ff.

[2] For this much discussed word, see PBB IV 210; XVIII 180, 188; Fick I[4] 512; Anglia 35,124.

[3] Exceptionally in prose, Boeth. 136[19].

[4] e. g. Dan. 27 times.

[5] Quite obscured, though originally belonging here, is O. E. *hæle(ð)* 'man'.

Another word that has been formed in accordance with a common Teut. type, with suff. *I. E. -ti*, an abstract word, consequently, is *scrift* 'penance' : *scrīfan* 'to impose penance; to shrive' (< L. *scribere*). With change of meaning this word also occurs, and is even rather usual, in the sense of 'confessor, priest who hears confession'[1], and then stands as a sort of ag.-n. to the vb *scrīfan*.

V. s-formations.

The words of this category, or rather these categories, are all dubious and debatable. O. E. *hæȝtesse, hæȝtes, haegtis, haehtisse* is interpreted as an orig. ag.-n. by Noreen[2], who derives it from *haȝa-hatissa* : Goth. *hatan* 'anfeinden', an etymology which is, however, most uncertain.[3] For the first part of the cpp. *eorxnawanȝ* ("< *ne werkusan*") the same explanation has been given[4], which is most unlikely. [On the other hand, O. E. **ēȝesa*, referred to by Noreen ibid. and Reinius, ibid. (from Grein, Sprachschatz), must be left out of discussion in this connection, as the record in question, B. 1757, is now interpreted otherwise[5]. Cp., however, O. S. *ēgiso*.[6]] Perhaps another word deserves mention here, viz. ***forleȝis(s)*** f. 'harlot', which word ought even in O. E. to have been felt as an ag.-n. of *forliczan*. I give the records of the word: *nsg.* prostituta *forliȝes* Cl. gl. 499[11]; *asg.* mecham *forleȝisse* Cl. gl. 441[33] (cp. mecharum dyrnlicendra 441[32]), Cl. gl. 523[34]; *þa forleȝisse* Past. 353[19]; *gsg. forleȝisse* Past. 403[17]; *dsg.* (be Marian) *þære forleȝisse* Past. 411[10]; *dpl.* prostitutis *forleȝesum* Cl. gl. 513[5]. Thus the O.E. form of the word is evidently *forleȝis(s)*; the once recorded *forliȝes* is easily to be accounted for as being influenced by the vowel of the primitive word *forliczan*; the ending *-es* for *-is* will be due to attraction from such words as the synonymous *ciefes (cefes)* 'Kebse' and also *ides*. I am inclined to regard this word as a formation of this type, with fem. *-i̯ō-* extension (cp. Gothic *bē-*

[1] e. g. Blickl. Hom. 43[20], 193[22], BCS. II 339$_{4,3}$ (A. D. 928) and many other places.

[2] IF. IV, p. 324 ff. where he gives a discussion of these cases (orig. pa. ptc. act.)

[3] See for this word Hessels, Leid. Gloss., p. 229, and the literature there quoted, esp. Franck.

[4] By J. Reinius, Anglia 19, p. 554 f. Cp. on this word also Ark. X 74, note, and (latest explanation) Anglia 33, p. 467 ff.; 34, p. 528 (Ritter).

[5] Cp. Holthausen, Beow. II, p. 235, and literature there quoted.

[6] Gallée, Vorstudien, p. 52, and literature there quoted.

rusjōs), in which case we must certainly assume the form *-ƿes* of the suffix, which has not otherwise been shown to exist in Teut. (generally *-us-*), since *forlezis* with this etymology must be < **-laƶƿes-iō* with *ƶ* in O. E. for *w*, on account of influence from the vb and the adj. *forlizer*.

An original *s*-suffix with ag.-forming function is certainly also to be seen, with the old etymology, in *wæfs* 'wasp' < **ƿaƀso* : *ƿeban* O. E. *wefan* 'weben', meaning, consequently, 'weaver'[1].

[1] See Cortelyou, p. 40, and literature there quoted.

The word *brimisa* Leid. gl. XLVII 82 (Hessels; Sweet prints *briusa*) is not O. E. According to Hessels the Ms. has: *priṷsa* (brimisa) with *b* written above *p*, which is crossed out, and *mi* written above *u*, which is pointed. Now, Leid. contains G. and Engl. glosses, so there is no difficulty in explaining the word, cp. O. H. G. *primisa, brimissa,* O. L. G. *brimissia,* O. N. *brims*, cp. O. E. always *brīosa,* N. E. *breeze* 'gadfly'. The word belongs to O. H. G. *breman* 'brummen' (for another possibility, see Weigand 'bremse'), prim. Teut. **ƀremesjā*, and ought, if it were an O. E. word, to have the form **brimis(s)*. How N. E. *brims*, on the other hand, is to be explained (if from Scand.) may here be left undecided. An O. E. form **brimse*, f., often given in etymological dictionaries (Franck, Weigand) is non-existent.

Chapter I: Nomina agentis with l-suffix.

Introductory remarks.

Different functions of the suffix.

Even in I. E. times, the suffix *-lo-* was used to form noun-derivatives from both *nouns* and *verbs*.[1] When forming derivatives from nouns, its function was preferably to form *diminutives*, generally with the same gender as the primitive word; when forming derivatives from verbs it serves to form *nom. ag. adj. and sb.* How far Teut. substantival ag.-n. are original adjectival ones is a question which often cannot be decided, and which will not be made the subject of an investigation here.[2]

By the side of the masc. ag.-n. in *-lo-*, there often existed in I. E. *neut. instr. -nouns* in *-lo-m*, which old neut. nouns have not seldom changed genders and become masc. And then original ag.-n. have often, with a slight modification of sense, developed into instr.-nouns. It will then be found that it is extremely difficult to keep agential and instrumental nouns in *-(i)lo* apart in an old Teutonic dialect.[3] It might, indeed, be advisable to treat of ag.-n. and instr.-n. in *-(i)lo* in common, but then these semological categories often represent different morphological groups as

[1] Brugmann II: 1, § 360 ff.

[2] Cp. O. E. *sticel* 'a goad, sting, that with which a prick may be given', O. H. G. *stihhil*, O. N. *stikill* 'pointed end of a horn' and Skr. (av.) *tigra-* 'sharp', an adj. Brugmann § 262).

Another example of an O. E. word which can be regarded as a substantival ag.-n. made directly from the verb, or as a substantivized adj., is *wencel, wincel* sb. 'child, maidservant', cp. *wencel*, adj. (poetry) 'weak' : prim. Teut. *u̯enkan* III 'sich seitwärts bewegen, wanken', O. K. G. *winchan*, O. E. **wincan* **wanc* (M. E. *winken*), prim. Teut. form of the noun, consequently, **u̯enkila* (> *wincel*), **u̯ankila* (> *wencel*). The neut. gender of the word speaks for the latter alternative, i. e., that the sb. is an original adj. (perhaps attribute of *cild*). — Höge, "Deminutivbildungen im Me." p. 16, assumes O. E. *wincel*, M. E. *wenchel* to be a *diminutive* of the M. E. *wenche* 'ancilla'. Now M. E. *wenche*, N. E. *wench* and M. E. *wenchel*, O. E. *wincel*, are exactly the same word in different dialectal forms, cp. O. E. *mycel* > M. E. dial. *muche* > N. E. *much*.

[3] cp. Wilmann's § 205 4) and § 207 anm. 2.

well, and so it would take us too far to include them. In the following pages, therefore, only those derivatives in *-(i)lo* have been considered for which agential character is absolutely certain — so the majority of person-, animal- and plant-designating words, though sometimes also instr., e. g., *tæsel* 'teazle' — or at least most likely. For the rest, I must restrict myself to a general admission of the theoretical possibility that many sb. which were no doubt nom. instr. to O. E. conception were originally nom. ag.

Besides, the suffix is met with in a number of "*Konkretbenennungen*",[1] as Goth. *stōls*, O. E. *sāl*, G. *seil*, or the still more obscure O. E. *tunʒol*, *nægl*, *seʒl*, in many, or perhaps most, of which no doubt instrumental derivatives are to be traced. By changes of sense many different sense-relations have been created between the vb and the derived word, and so the suffix has obtained the variety of special functions which it shows in the Teut. languages, e. g., designating locality (*botl*, *setl*), clothing (*ʒeʒyrla*), etc.[2]

Finally, the suffix is also used to form *abstract words*, *nom. actionis*, a very old function of the suffix,[3] which we meet with in a considerable number of formations in O. E., e. g. *æfwierdla*, *æwyrdla* 'injury, loss': *wierdan*, *fyndele* 'invention': *findan*.[4]

[1] Kluge, St. b.-l. § 89.

[2] Kluge, ibid.

[3] from which, for instance, the Armenian inf. in *-lo* have been developed, cp. Brugmann II; 1 p. 375.

[4] Concerning the original meaning of *lo*-formations, Osthoff, Forschungen I, p. 188, (with reference among other things to the different meanings of the adj. formed with *l*-suff. e. g. L. *bibulus*, Goth. *sakuls*, O. E. *slāpol* with active, but L. (bibilis, docilis), *stragulus* 'zum unterbreiten dienlich' with passive sense in relation to the vb), maintains that the original meaning was something between active and passive, yet with "grösserer Hinneigung zum activischen Sinne". "Die Vollziehbarkeit des Verbalbegriffes war es wohl was als ursprüngliche Funktion in ihnen lag."

Without entering upon a discussion of this problem, or upon the question whether the different functions of the suffix can be traced back to one common primitive function, I may be allowed to draw attention to a few O. E. *-ilo*-sb. which have a passive meaning in relation to the vb. They denote the result of the action expressed by the verb and can thus be regarded as nom. acti. Such words, all formed in pre-English times are, e.g.:

rysel 'fat', O. S. *rusal* : Teut. *rus-*'reissen' (Fick 353), thus originally 'abgerissenes Stück, rohes Stück Speck'. Concerning the form of the word, see Weyhe PBB 30,128.

scitel 'dung' : *scītan* (y for i; Sw. assumes, wrongly (inadvertently), a derivation from *scēotan*).

Concerning the suff. *-lo-* in O. E. as forming *nom. instr.* and *"Konkretbenennungen"* in general, I refer to Both and Brasch (Both gives very numerous examples of such words); as forming *abstract words*, to Thiele, ibid. (some 40 words); as forming *adj.*, to Schön (some 90 words, the majority of which show the form in *-ol*); and as forming *diminutive words*, to Eckhardt (some 40 appellatives and a great number of proper names).

I. Function of nomina agentis obscured.

A. Primitive words extinct in O. E.

1. Suffix prim. Teut. -lo.

Material discussed.

There are no words belonging with certainty here. As for *eorl* and *ceorl*, which are probably formations of another type, see

trendel 'ring, circle' M. L. G. *trendel* 'Scheibe', M. H. G. *trendel, trindel*, O.H.G. *trennila*, f. 'ball' (desubst. verb O.H.G. *trennilōn* 'to turn', O. E. *ā-trendlian*) : Teut. **trennan* III 'sich trennen; absondern', orig. 'abgetrenntes Stück, Scheibe'. — Skeat (and also Both, p. 4) assumes an O. E. vb **trindan* III, 'to roll', and seems to regard *trendel* as a derivative from this vb or from an adj. derived from this vb.; cp. Sw. *trind*, O. Frs. *trund*. For the existence of such a vb, assumed only *ad hoc*, no evidence at all can be brought forward, however. Cp. Falk-Torp sub 'trind'.

windel 'basket' gloss. cartellus, corbis, O, N. *vǫndull* 'a bundle (of hay)', O.H.G. *wintila, windila*, f. 'Windel': *windan* III, is regarded by Falk (p. 39) as a "nom. instr. zweifelhafter natur". Perhaps originally 'etwas zusammengewundenes' (Fick 390).

mæstel in *mæstel-bearȝ* 'a fattened barrow, pig' will rather be a denominative formation : *mæst* m. 'mast, fruit of trees used for feeding swine', than a formation of the type under discussion; in such a case from the secondary vb *mæstan* 1. 'to fatten'.

There may be still more words that allow of a similar interpretation; my intention is only to call attention to the group.

It is, of course, not certain that these are relics in a Teut. dialect of old *lo*-formations with passive sense (cp. Osthoff, ibid., who especially points out the occurrence of such words in Lith. languages). They may represent orig. nom. actionis, with change of sense, or nom. instr. There certainly may be cases where a *nom. instr.* passes over into a *nom. acti*, even without any change of sense at all. I cite the *O. E. wyrpel* 'ein um die Füsse des Falken geschlungener Riemen' (cp. Swaen ESt. 37 p. 195 ff.), O.N. *verfill*, M.L.G.

etymological dictionaries.[1] With the etymology given by Wood,[2] the word *ȝīs(e)l*, 'hostage' should belong here, O. H. G. *gīsal*, O. N. *gísl* etc., O. Ir. *giall*, all < I. E. * *gheislo* 'anhaftend, zurückbleibend': L. *hæreo*.

2. Suffix prim. Teut. -ilo, -ilō(n).

a) -ilo.

emel 'caterpillar'. Forms: *aemil* Ep. Erf. 484; *æmil* Erf. 257; *emil* Co. C 943 and in other places; *emel* (usual form) e. g. Greg. 67^{11}; *ymel* Greg. 67^{7} Ms. O.; Ælfc gr 35^{7}; Addit. Ms. 164_{5}.[3]

The form *ymel* is supposed by Cort., ibid., to be "umgekehrte Schreibung", against which assumption the occurrence in three mss. (non-Kent.) speaks. It seems preferable to assume another gradation-form, thus **umilo*, beside **amilo*, which is quite permissible with the etymology given below, since O. E. *ōm* 'rust' is traced to the same root,[4] thus indicating the series of 'Ablaut' of verbal class IV.

Cort., who declares the etymology to be unknown, compares the word with M. L. G. *emel-te* and N. L. G. *ämel*, *emel* 'Blattlaus'.[5]

: Teut. *am-*, O. N. *ama* 'plague, harass', Skr. *ámiti* 'bedrängt, beschädigt'; orig. meaning thus 'injurer, damager'.[6]

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worpel < prim. Teut. **u̯arpila*, *u̯urpila* (Fick 398) or O. E. *scytel* 'missile, dart, arrow', O. N. *skutill* 'Wurf, Schusswaffe; Riegel' < **scutila*. These are evidently original nom. instr., but ought in O. E. to have been felt rather as nom. acti, though, of course, the association with the verb was not very strong, on account of the specialized concrete sense of the sb. The corresponding verbs were, in fact, originally construed with the instr. case, but have passed in O. E. into tr. vbs — *scēotan* always, *weorpan*, almost always with acc. of the thing thrown; cp. O. N. still with dat. —, and then the thing thrown, i. e., the corresponding sb. must have undergone a similar change of sense in relation to the verb, practically without changing sense at all.

[1] As for the signification in O. E. of the words, See Liebermann II: 1 and II: 2 under these words.

[2] PBB 24_{530}. So also Walde sub 'hæreo'.

[3] Complete records and discussion of sense in Cort. 51, where only the record Addit. Ms. *(ymel)* is missing. The form *amelum*, which he gives from Greg. 67^{11} Ms. C, is wrong, as was already pointed out by Schlutter, ESt. 38_{298}.

[4] cp. Fick 16.

[5] Can Sw. dial. (Värml.) *älme*, f. 'larva of death's-head moth' be compared, in such a case, with metathesis?

[6] So also Both, p. 8.

iȝil, il 'hedgehog'. Forms: *iȝil, iȝl, īl, iil, yl,* with the contracted form even in the earliest records.[1] O. H. G. *igil*, O. N. *īgull* (ī secondary).

: √*egh*- 'stechen', cp. Gr. ἔχις 'nadder'.[2]

sprindel 'tenterhook' (Sw.),[3] 'snare (for catching birds)' (Schlutter's translation and mine). Records: tenticum *sprindil* Ep. Erf. 1025; tenticum *sprindel* Co. T 88; tenticum *spindel*[4] Cl. gl. 278[3].

Both lemma and gloss occur only in the passages quoted. Sweet's justification for his translation of the word is unknown to me. Schlutter[5] refers the gloss to Aldh. 14,18 ed. Giles: tendiculum elationis connectat; he reads the gloss: *tendiclum sprincel,* and translates it 'Dohne, Sprenkel', a translation which I have adopted above, though I retain the form of the gloss. Cp. for the lemma: tendiculum quo aves capiuntur Leid. XXIX 23; tendiculum gl. decipulam rete ł laqueum quod tenditur leporibus ł avibus, marg. þelman, snearan ł wocie Hpt. gl. 429 a; for the gloss: N. E. dial. *sprindle* beside the more usual *springle,* both meaning 'a snare for birds made with a pliant stick and a noose'.[6] That the given lemma *tenticum* and the common L. word *tendiculum* will be identical in meaning, perhaps also in form (*tenticum* a miswriting or a form assumed from *tendiculum*), seems thus to be placed beyond all doubt.

Schlutter's change of *sprindel* into *sprincel* is also rendered quite unnecessary by the quoted N. E. dial. form, and by the natural etymology of the word.[7]

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[1] For complete records, see Jordan, p. 73.

[2] Fick 23.

[3] And so also, after him, other scholars, e. g., Brasch, who translates 'Spannhaken'.

[4] That N. E. *spindle* is not meant here appears not only from the lemma, but also from the form, since this word is always *spinele* in O. E. without *d*, e. g., fuso *spinele* Cl. gl. 504[5], fusus *spinl* Æfc. gr. 30[10]. The form *spindel* in the above record will have to be explained as due to careless copying, *r* having been omitted after the pæleographically similar *p*, or it should be compared to *specan* for *sprecan.*

[5] ESt. 43,322.

[6] Wright, Dial. Dict. sub 'sprindle'.

[7] Ritter, Arch. 120, 430 f., gives some exx. from Engl. dial., where *-dl* < *-gl,* among which he mentions *sprindle* 'snare for birds' < *springle.* As appears from the above, this instance is probably irrelevant; it is quite unnecessary to take such a roundabout way, when O. E. *sprindel* and N. E. dial. *sprindle* are recorded in the same sense.

: Teut. *sprend-*, by-form of *sprent-* in *sprentan* 'jump up, spring up', O. N. *spretta*,[1] cp. O. E. *sprind* 'lively', also *sprinʒd*, by association with *sprinʒan*, *āsprindlad* 'ripped up'. The word thus means 'a thing that starts up (by its elasticity)', cp. Sw. *sprättbåge*, 'bow (starting up at the moment of shooting)'[2]

wifel, by-form of *wifer* 'arrow, dart, javelin'. Record: spiculo (gl. pectato) ʒare and *wifele* Hpt gl. 432[53].

: Teut. *u̯eb-* 'sich hin und her bewegen, wabern', cp. O. E. *wafian*, *wāfre*, and see next word[3].

wifel 'weevil, beetle', O. S. *wibil*, O. L. G. *wivil*, O. H. G. *wibil*, O. N. *ȳfill* (< *-uifill*[4]); Lith. *vabalas*.[5]

Noreen,[6] Kluge,[7] Cortelyou[8], and others suppose *weƀ-il-as* :

[1] Cp. Fick, p. 517, Persson Beiträge, p. 873; Brasch, p. 139.

[2] I may be allowed in this connection to say a few words about Schlutter's word *sprincel*, which also occurs in the glossaries, e. g., fiscillis *sprinclum* Co. F 171, fiscilis *sprinclum* Cl. gl. 403[3]. Also in these records of the word Schlutter sees the sense of 'Dohne, Sprenkel', and that in spite of the following facts:

1) that *fiscillus* (= fiscella) is otherwise glossed *tænel* (Cl gl 403[1]) and *stictænel* (Co. F 166, Cl. gl. 403[2]);

2) that the source of these glosses is Aldh. 36,7 : refertis fiscillis onustisque corbibus;

3) that Schlutter finds the explanation given by Kluge, Furn. Misc., p. 200 'wicker basket' (: *sprinca*, *spranca* = *tænel* : *tān*) "ansprechend" and admits its possibility.

Schlutter, starting from Littré, assumes that N. Fr. *ficelle* < *filicellum* 'bindfaden' has come into contact, during its development, with L. *fiscella* 'korb'; and that, consequently, the gloss-word fiscellis has had two senses, which *two* senses in the glossaries were originally rendered by *tænel uel sprincel* rendering one sense each, whereupon later copyists will sometimes have omitted one or the other. Deprived of the support of a necessary change *sprindel* > *sprincel* in the passages discussed, this explanation is as uncalled for as it is unfounded. Littré, referred to by Schlutter, does not give any sense of 'Sprenkel, Dohne' for L. filicellus, Fr. ficelle, and that sense must at least be shown to exist beside 'Bindfaden', before such a supposition is made. In what I have said I have not at all denied the possibility that N. E. *spryncle* = *sprynge* 'snare for birds' goes back to an O. E. **sprincel* with this sense, since an O. E. *sprincel* : Teut. **sprenc-*, by-form of **sprenʒ-*, N. E. *springle*, can be an altogether analogous formation to O. E. *sprindel* : *sprent- sprend-*.

[3] Cp. Weyhe PBB 30,107, and literature there quoted.

[4] Noreen, An. Gr. § 71, Anm. 4.

[5] For O. E. records and cognate words, see Cortelyou, p. 23 f.

[6] Urg. Lautl. 72.

[7] Kluge, Et. Wb. 'Wiebel'.

[8] Cort. ibid. (p. 23 f.).

Teut. *ɣeb-* 'weave', thus originally meaning 'weaver', referring to the process of pupation. Fick[1] suggests *ɣeb-* 'sich hin u. her bewegen' (cp. prec. word), M. H. G., N. H. G. *weben* 'move'.[2] The name of 'weaver' seems not to be very natural as regards beetles, whereas the rapidity with which the different little insects of this group generally move, scamper off, dart away, might quite naturally have given rise to the denomination. From a morphological point of view, both interpretations are equally possible.

wincel, wencel, neut. 'child; maidservant' with neut. gender from *cild*, unless, which is more likely, the word is to be regarded as a substantivization of the adj. *wencel*.

: Teut. *ɣenkan* 'totter; waver', M. E. *winken, wenchen*.[3]

wiðerwenʒel 'foe, enemy, adversary'[4], glossing *adversarius* three times in Reg. Ps : nsg. *wiðerwenʒel* 73,10; apl. *wiðerwenʒlas* Hy. 4,7; dpl. *wiðerwenʒlum* Hy. 6,27. Morsbach[5] gives as a possible etymology ("vielleicht") *wenʒel* : *wanʒe*, n. 'Wange' = 'jemand der der Wange des andern feindlich gegenübersteht'. If a desubstantive formation is to be assumed, I wonder whether another derivation is not to be preferred, viz. : *wanʒ*, m. 'field, place', thus meaning 'one who is in the opposite field, place'. However, both these possibilities seem unlikely to me. The word, which is apparently a very old one, will be best accounted for as an agential formation from the verb that is the primitive word of the O. E. adj. *wōh* 'crooked; wrong, unjust', as sb. 'wrong, wickedness', O. S. *wāh* 'Übel Böses' (<**ɣanχ*), cp. Skr. *vañcati* 'geht krumm', *vañcayati* 'weicht aus, entwischt, betrügt'.[6] It thus seems as if the figurative sense of 'übel handeln', or something like it, occurred very early beside the original one of 'krumm gehen, sein', and, to a verb with this sense, **wenʒel* will have been an ordinary ag.-n.[7] As **wenʒel* later on became morphologically isolated, on account

[1] Fick, p. 391.

[2] Cp. on this word-group also Persson, Beitr., p. 235 ff.

[3] Cp. above, p. 42.

[4] Not given in any dictionary.

[5] in a foot-note, p. 280 of Roeder, Reg. Ps.

[6] For other cognate words with this etymology see Fick, p. 389.

[7] It ought also to be noted that *wiðerwenʒel* is only recorded as meaning an 'adversary of God', consequently in a sense that stands very near to the original one of 'übel handelnd, böser'.

of the sound-development of the nearest cognate words (*wōh*), its sense became uncertain, and it assumed the prefix *wiðer-* from the synonymous, or nearly synonymous, words, *wiðer-broca* (*-breca*), *wiðerwinna*, *wiðersaca*, *wiðercora*.

The word is almost extinct in O. E., as appears from its rare use as compared with the synonyms given, and also from the facts that: a) in Reg. Ps. 73,10 the copyist of Ms. H, who follows Ms. D. very closely, writes only *wiðer-*, as if the rest of the word were unintelligible to him; b) in Stowe Hy. 4,7 *wenʒlas* shows traces of erasure.[1]

b) **-ilō(n)**.

(*eʒl*), ***eʒle*** 'a mote; ail, awn, beard of barley'; 'talon, claw'[2].
: *Vegh* 'stechen, scharf sein', prim. Teut. **aʒilō(n)* 'was sticht, was scharf ist'; cp. O. H. G. *ahil*, (N. H. G. *achel*[3]) with divergence of consonants in accordance with Verner's law. Cp. Sw. dial. *ägil* 'tender crop'.[4]

As identical with preceding word Jordan[5] regards

eʒle 'Haselmaus, dormouse'[6]. Forms: *eʒlae* Ep. 470, *eʒilae* Erf. ib., otherwise *eʒle*. At any rate, both words belong to the same root.

hydele, hnydele, a plant-name (Cockayne: Cochlearia Anglica). Records: ʒenim - - *hæwenne hnydelan*[7] Lacn. 122[8]; to sealfe sceal - - - *hæwene hnydele* Lacn. 132[5]; herba britannica þæt is *hæwen hydele* Herb. Apul. 16$\frac{8}{3}$; ʒenim þa wyrte þe grecas britannice and enʒla *hæwen hydele* nemneð (nsg.; so often after *nem-*

[1] Schlutter, ESt. 38, 24 f., accepts Morsbach's etymology and adduces in support N. E. 'to face the storm', but suggests at the same time the possibility of reading *wiðerwendel* (: **wiðerwendan*) or *widerwrenʒel* (cp. N. E. *wrangle* and M. L. G. *weder wranglen* 'reluctari'). The last emendation is rather attractive, though the occurrence three times of *widerwenʒel* seems to make that form certain.

[2] For forms and records, see Weyhe, PBB 30, p. 125; according to him, the syncopation is regular in the combination *-ʒil-* after a short stem-syllable and seems to have taken place as early as the first half of the 8th century.

[3] Cp. Jordan, Ae. Säugetiernamen p. 80. For the whole word-group, cp. also Fick p. 7, Persson Beitr. p. 724.

[4] Hellquist, Ark. 13,234 may be compared. Cp. also Kern ESt. 36, p. 114 and p. 37, p. p. 456, 460 (Glogger and Kern).

[5] Ae. Säugetiernamen, p. 80.

[6] This sense is rejected by Schlutter, Anglia 30, p. 246.

[7] Cockayne gives, wrongly, *hæwene*, and so after him Weyhe PBB 30, p. 104. Ms. here has *hydelan*, with *n* written above the *y*.

[8] Ms. V has *hydela*.

nan) Herb. Apul. 126[6];[1] *hæwen hydele* (heading) Herb. Apul. 126[4].

Weyhe, ibid., p. 104, explains the different forms by assuming that in the *cp.*, i. e. in *hæwenhnydele*, *n* has been dropped by dissimilation — which may be possible, since the sb. occurs only in combination with that adj., inflected or not — and that the form *hydele* has originated in that way. However, such an assumption is not quite necessary, since we can very well have to do with two different formations, viz.

: Teut. **hnuð, hneuðan*, 'stossen, schlagen', O. N. *hnióða*, O. H. G. *hneotan*, cp. also O. H. G. *hnotôn* 'schütteln', M. E. *nodden*, N. E. *nod*[2], and

: Teut. **huð*, 'schütteln', occurring in L. G. *hudern* 'vor Kälte zittern', Norw. *hutre*, L. G. *hotten*, M. H. G. *hutzen*[3].

The words may thus be formed from two different roots actually existing in Teut., in both cases meaning 'die Schüttelnde'. For such double formations, which are by no means rare, cp., e. g., the above discussed O. E. *sprindel*, N. E. *sprindle*, and N. E. *springle*, or O. E. *ȝærshoppa* and *ȝærsstapa*, etc.

Another thing that seems hitherto to have escaped notice is the alternatively *masc.* gender of the word. Note, in the records above, *hæwenne hnydelan* Lacn. 122[8], *hæwen hydela* Herb. Apul. 16_3 Ms. V, and *hæwen hudela* (wrongly copied for *hydela*) Herb. Apul. 126[4] Ms. O, thus recorded 3 times.[4]

Most uncertain, if really belonging here at all, is.

cwydele 'inflamed swelling, boil', glossing carbunculus, pustula and varix Ælfc voc. 112[16] and 161[17]. As O. E. "standard form" is to be regarded with Bt. Suppl. *cwidele* (with *y* < *i* after *w*);[5] O. H. G. *chwedilla* 'Hautbläschen'

: $\sqrt{gu\underline{e}t}$: *gut* schwellen, with original sense of 'etwas Schwellendes'.[6] O. E. *cwidele* < **cweðilōn*, O. H. G. *chwedilla* < **cwaþliō(n)*.[7]

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[1] 126[4, 6] *hæwen* corrected to *hæwenen*, Ms. H.; 126[4] *hudela* Ms. O.

[2] Fick p. 100. Cp. NED *nod* "with uncertain etymology".

[3] Fick p. 92.

[4] The explanation of the two genders (*h(n)ydele*, *-a*) will certainly be found in the great age of the word. It will go back to the period when in the *n*-stems the masc. and fem. genders had not yet developed two different paradigms.

[5] Bülbring, Ae. Elem. b. § 283.

[6] Fick p. 60 after Wood, MLN XIX 1 ff.

[7] Weyhe, PBB XXX 104.

pinewincle (-a?) 'periwinkle, winkle, a mollusc', N. E. dial. 'penny-winkle'. Records: ostran and crabban, muslan, *pinewinclan*[1] gl. torniculi Coll. Ælfc 94^{14}; chelio testudo uel marina gugalia, sæsnæl vel *pinewinclan* Ælfc voc. 122^{24}; cwice *wine winclan* Lcb. 10^{8}; *sæwinewinclan* 72^{16} (= Cock. II 240^{4}; see his foot-note on that page); ostran and *winewinclan* 76^{37}; *winewinclan* Addit. Ms. 122_{24}.

Whether *pinewincle* or *pinewincla* is the form of the word[2] is not to be determined from the existing records. Prim. Teut. form is **ƿenkilōn* (*-ilan*).

: Teut. *ƿenk-* M. E. *winken* (*wank*), original sense of the root 'biegen',[3] "a reference to the convoluted form of the shell".[4]

3. Suffix prim. Teut. -alo, -ulo.

The two words given here are both given with reserve, since it is very possible that they are not original nom. ag. Yet I have thought it suitable to include them, since they are, as far as I can see, the only O. E. instances of *lo*-formations in which agential force can possibly be urged for the suffix in this form.

awel, awul 'awl, hook, fork'. Forms: *awul* fuscinula uel tridens Ælfc voc. 127^{10}; *awel*, asg. Ger. 17 (usual form), pl. *awelas awlas*.[5]

: *aƷ-, ah-*, cp. above *eƷle*, prim. Teut. **aƷƿala*[6] beside **aχƿala*, cp. O. N. *soð-áll*, L. *aculeus* 'sting', Cymr. *ebil* 'bohrer'.[7]

The vowel of the last syllable must be regarded as svara-bhakti, originating in the inflected forms.[8]

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[1] The forms with initial *p-*, recorded from Ælfc, according to *Sw.*, are stated to be wrong by Cock. II 240, who maintains that these Mss. have *w-*; at any rate, *wine-* will certainly be due to a corruption of *pine-*, cp. below; footnote 4).

[2] Whitman, Anglia 30,381, like *Sw.* gives *winewincle* as fem., though without giving any reasons.

[3] Fick p. 389.

[4] Whitman, ibid. — As for the explanation of the first part of the word, Whitman assumes borrowing < L. *pina*, Gr. *πίννα* 'kind of mussel'.

[5] For full records, see Brasch 62.

[6] Weyhe, PBB 30,134. — Cp. Walde 'aculeus', where Teut. form is given as *aƷwalō* after Zupitza, Gutt. 63. The masc. gender, however, is made quite certain by the records.

[7] See Walde sub aculeus.

[8] Cp. Weyhe, ibid., and the literature quoted by Weyhe and Brasch.

Still more uncertain, probably rather nom. act. is

wapol 'bubble, froth, foam', with secondary vb *wapolian* 'to bubble'; cp. O.Frs. *wapul* 'Sumpf', N. Norw. *vapla* 'Wasserbläschen'. Forms: *wapol* gl. famfaluca Ælfc voc. 108^{20}, *wapul* Cl. gl. 402^{10}. : $\sqrt{u̯eb?}$ parallel formation of $\sqrt{u̯ebh}$ in O. E. *wæfre, wafian, wifel* etc. (see *wifel* above).[1] Teut. **u̯apula* 'das Schäumende' or 'Schäumen'.

4. Suffix prim. Teut. -lōn, -alōn, -ulōn.

Here I include, with reserve, one word, viz.,

wesle, 'weasel'; *uuesulae* Ep. Erf. 650; *uueosule* Co. M 337, otherwise *wesle*.[2]

Weyhe[3] does not assume identity between the forms, but gives *uueosulae* < prim. Teut. **u̯esulōn* and *wesle* < **u̯es(a)lōn*; cp. also O. H. G. *wisula, wisala,* O. N. *wisla.*

Palander and Jordan regard it as 'wahrscheinlich' and 'wohl sicher' respectively that we have to do with *diminutive* suff. *-ulōn*. Yet no substantival word has been shown to exist from which it may be derived. The word may be compared to Skr. *visras* 'muffig riechend', cp. Skr. *visám* 'Flüssigkeit, Gift', L. *vīrus.*

: $\sqrt{u̯is}$ 1) 'feucht sein' 2) 'verwesen' (cp. O. E. *wisnian,* O. N. *visna* 'to dry up, wither[4].

Original sense seems more likely to have been agential — perhaps originally an adj. — than diminutive.

Note. There is another word which would have to be regarded as an ag.-formation with prim. Teut. *-alō, -ulō*, if we adopted the etymology given by Holthausen[5] and accepted by Walde (p. 165), Both p. 11 ('vielleicht'), and Weyhe p. 132 ("prim. Teut. *skaƀulō?*"), viz. O. E. *sceaðel* f. 'weaving implement'. The word is only recorded once, viz. among '*tōwtōla*' in Ger. 15 : asg. *sceaðele*; the gender, consequently, is fem., not masc. as Sw. gives it. *Sceaðel* has

[1] Fick p. 391. Cp. also Weyhe, PBB 30,113. Cp. also Both p. 11 and literature there quoted, and Persson, Beiträge p. 235 ff.

[2] For full records, see Jordan p. 42, cp. Palander p. 61.

[3] PBB 30,130.

[4] Fick p. 413.

[5] IF. 25,150.

been supposed to mean 'Weberschiffchen'[1] 'Lade am Webstuhl'.[2] Two etymologies have been suggested: Ritter, ibid., compares the word with O.N. *skeið*, f. 'weaver's rod, slay', and prim. Teut. **skaiðan*; he gives the O. E. form as *sceāðel*, and so also does Fick, p. 464 (*scāpel*). Holthausen, ibid., without criticizing Ritter, suggests O. E. *sceăðel* 'der hüpfende', and compares it with L. *scateo* 'hervorsprudeln, überquellen', Lith. *skasti* 'springen'. With the latter etymology we get a word which is rather isolated in Teut. — though it is true Holth. adduces N. H. G. *schade* 'Zins' and Westph. *schōt* 'Laich' — and which has no parallel formations in other cognate languages. On the other hand, if Ritter's etymology is accepted, we get a very natural association with O. N. *skeið*, Sw. (väv-)*sked*, and the slight morphological obstacle will certainly not make it impossible — one might expect *sceāple* with syncopation; analogy from the nom. case is not natural in a word that, on account of its sense, is likely to have been most usual in inflected cases. I thus follow Ritter and Fick, but with a slight modification: I do not assume it to be formed from *skaiðan* — then it would certainly be masc. like the great number of *ilo-* formations denoting different implements — but from the sb. which we found in O. N. *skeið*, f. *i*-stem, the vowel of the suffix thus being the usual one, viz. *-i-*, since formed from an *i*-stem, accordingly, prim. Teut. **skaiþilō*. But then I write the O. E. word *scēaðel* (not *sc(e)āðel*), asg. *scēaðele*, with the vowel of the nom. retained.[3]

As *original ag.-n.* formed with suff. *-lo*, but *obscured by the extinction of the primitive word*, I have thus regarded ***emil, iȝil, sprindel, wifel*** (two words), ***wiðerwenȝel, eȝle*** (two words), ***hnydele, hydele, winewincle,*** with reserve also ***ȝīsel, wincel (wencel), cwydele, awel, wapol*** and ***wesle***.

[1] Liebermann, Anglia IX, 263; Gesetze d. Ags. 2: 1.

[2] Ritter, Archiv 115,165. Kluge, Ags. Lesebuch, leaves the word untranslated.

[3] Both (p. 11) has the form *sceapel*, owing to a misprint (cp. his index). He gives the word among *-ila- -ala-* formations, of which, with his etymology (that of Holth.), only the latter is possible, since a prim. Teut. **skaþila* would have given O. E. **scieðel*.

B. Primitive words retained in O. E.

1. Derivatives from strong verbs.[1]

a. Pa. ptc. formations.

fuȝol 'bird' (cp. *bridd* 'young of a bird'), O. H. G. *fogal*, O. S. *fugal*, O. N. *fugl*, Goth. *fugls* < prim. Teut. *fuȝlo-* (< **fluȝlo* with loss of *l* by dissimilation)[2].

: *flēoȝan* II or

: Teut. **fuh-*, more commonly **fuk-*, *feukan* 'blasen, wehen'; 'der schnell durch die Luft ziehende'.[3]

fenȝel 'prince', only in B. of Hrōðgār (3×) and Bēowulf (1×): wisa *fenȝel* 1400: snottra *fenȝel* 1475, 2156 (Hr.); hrinȝa *fenȝel* 2345 (Beow.). — The attributes show that the word was a kenning of 'prince', without retained association with the corresponding verb.

: *fōn* (< **fanχan*, pa. ptc. *fanȝen*) 'to seize, grasp', originally 'one who seizes, takes (and, consequently, possesses)'.

þenȝel probably identical with preceding word and so included here.[4] Records: hrinȝa *þenȝel* B. 1507 (Beow.); manna *þenȝel* Ex. 173 (Moses). Cp. O. N. *þengill* and *mannaþengill*.

Note. *sprytlan*, apl., (L. astulis), 'twig, chip', recorded once, viz. Bd, ed. Miller, 2,224[5], is given by Weyhe, ibid., as derived from *sprot*, *spryttan* : prim. Teut. **sprutilōn* or **sprutilan*, O. E. *spryt(e)le*, f.[6] or *spryt(e)la* m. If the word is an ag.-n., it is more likely to be from the strong verb, O. E. *sprūtan* 'to spring, germinate', from which verb there are numbers of formations with

[1] The form of the suffix is, in the following, always prim. Teut. *-ilo.* unless in a particular case the contrary is expressly stated, which occurs only in the first word and perhaps twice more.

[2] So N. E. D.

[3] Fick p. 243. As another alternative, Fick (ib.) gives 'der mit Flaumfedern bekleidete'. Another etymology, suggested by Holthausen, IF. 25,152, according to which *fuȝol* should mean 'der stechende': *πευκεδανός* 'stechend' is less probable. Cp. also Berneker IF. 9,362.

[4] see Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 197.

[5] according to Weyhe, PBB 30,97.

[6] so BT. and Sw. : "y = i(e)?".

different suffixes, but with much the same meaning, such as O. E. *sprota*, *sprot* (cp. above), M. L. G. *sprūte* (cp. N. E. *sprout*), O. E. *sprēot* (cp. above p. 27), Norw. dial. *spraut*.[1] It seems, however, preferable to regard it as a *diminutive* formation from *sprota*, m. 'a sprout, shoot', or possibly *sprot*, n. 'sprout, twig, small branch', because the sense of 'chip' (astula) met with in this case is very natural as a diminutive of *sprota* 'branch, twig'[2], a supposition, against which there is no formal obstacle. Then the gender of the word will be masc., just as is the case with its primitive word, thus O. E. *sprytla*, m. with regular syncopation according to Weyhe, ib. Cp. also O. H. G. *sprozzo*, m. 'Leitersprosse', orig. 'Zweig',[3] from which M. H. G. *sprüssel*, m. 'Leitersprosse'.

b. Pret. t. formations.

c̄arendel 'dawn, light', cp. O. N. *Aurvandill*, O. H. G. *Orentil*, *Orendil*, *Orandil*, *Aurendil* (Schade). O. E. records: iuuvar leoma uel *earendil* Ep. 554; *oerendil* Erf. ib.; iubar *earendel* Co. I 521; eala *Earendel!* engla beorhtust Cri. 104; ond nu seo Cristes ȝebyrd æt his æriste, se niwa *eorendel* Sanctus Iohannes Blickl. Hom 163[30].

The last record points to the sense of 'dawn (preceding the day)' as the real sense of the word in O. E. L. *iubar* is otherwise glossed by *lēoma*, e. g. Co. I 531; Ælfc gr. 42[8].

The forms of the word are *c̄arendel* and *c̄orendel*, which latter form is certainly also intended in Erf. *oerendil*. The third ablaut-grade, thus *oerendel* = **erendel* (< **orwandil* < **uzwandil*), as recorded in this case (Erf.), will not be possible, since there are no O. E. records to show i-umlaut passing over a middle syllable, unless the vowel is *a* [a-u-i > a-y-i > æ-e-i(e)][4]. Prim. Teut. form of the O. E. word will thus be **auz(a)wandilaz* and **euz(a)-wandilaz*.[5]

: *windan* 'winden, sich wenden'.

[1] cp. Fick p. 518.

[2] Otherwise why should not one of the other common words have been used? *sprytela* seems really in this case to be a diminutive, not only originally but still felt as such), and used to render L. astula literally (*hastula* : *hasta* = *sprytla* : *sprota*). Not given as a diminutive by Eckhardt.

[3] Kluge, Et. Wtb. sub '*sprosse*'.

[4] Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 50, anm. 2; Bülbring, Ae. Elem.b. § 174.

[5] As for the loss of *-w-* cp. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 173, anm. 3.

O. E. *ēarendel*, like the corresponding words in other dialects, has been the subject of much discussion. It may be enough here to refer to the last paper on the subject, the one by Much, Wörter u. Sachen, 4,170 ff., where full references to literature are given. Like Much, Kluge,[1] Noreen[2], and others, I regard the word as a cp. of **auz-*, **euz-*, cp. Skr. *usrâ-* 'dawn, aurora', L. *aurora*, and **wandil*, which last word is perhaps, with Much, ibid., to be interpreted as meaning originally 'branch, flexible stick', thus an original nom. ag. 'der sich biegende', then 'ray, ray of light', cp. N. E. '*sun-beam*'. Hence the original sense of *ēarendel* will be 'ray of light announcing the arrival of the day'.

sprecel occurring in the plant-name *haran sprecel* : wyrc sealfe of haran sprecele Lcb. 24^{32}, which plant-name, according to Cock. II 79, refers to 'viper's bugloss'. Eckhardt regards it as a *dimin.* of *specca* 'a speck, spot, blot', with suffix *-ilo*,[3] but then one would expect **sp(r)eccel*. Rather an agential formation directly from *sprecan* in its prim. Teut. sense 'hervorbrechen, spriessen', (also 'prasseln, rauschen') — the formation must then be regarded as prim. Teut., since the verb means in O. E. only 'to speak' —, in which case the Teut. form will be either **sprakila*, O. E. *sprećel*[4] or **sprekala*, O. E. *sprećel*.[5] The sense is 'speck, spot', originally 'was hervorspriesst', so that the name seems to denote especially the so called 'prickly ox-tongue'.

The agential character of the word is, of course, quite lost.

If prim. Teut. **sprecala*, the word properly belongs to group a (p. 54), or it is a pres.-tense formation.

2. Derivatives from weak verbs.

hrœtele, hratele, 'rattlewort' Cock. III 333 (cp. *hrœtelwyrt* Brussels gl. 301,8).

: *√krad* 'rattle', Teut. *χrat-*, Gr. *κραδάω κραδαίνω* 'schwinge, schwanke', O. E. *hratian*, if that verb can be regarded as existent, cp. *ȝeratade* adceleravit Bd. gl. 32 (OET. 180),

[1] Kluge, Urgermanisch p. 230 = Pauls Grundr. I² 474.

[2] Arkiv 6,305 ff.

[3] Deminutivbildungen p. 11. Then it must also be a rather late formation, later than the *i*-umlaut of *e*.

[4] Weyhe 122 assumes Teut. *-ilo*.

[5] So Fick 515.

O. N. *hrata* 'stürzen, eilen'.[1] Prim. Teut. forms will be **hratilōn* and **hratulōn*.

As regards *hrætele* for **hretele*, see Weyhe (p. 97), and also as regards the unsyncopated form (p. 101).

In N. E. *rattle*, as a name of that plant, N. E. D. refuses to see a continuation of O. E. *hrætele*, as it is not recorded in M.E., and the verb 'to rattle' does not appear until the 14th century.

-pyttel in ***blēripyttel***. Records: scoricarius *bleripittel* Ælfc voc. 132[38]; soricarius *bleria pyttel* Br. gl. 287[8]. S(c)oricarius in more or less varying forms is also glossed with *mushafoc*, e. g., Br. gl. 285[6], so that the sense of 'mousehawk' will be quite certain. Whitmann[2] gives no explanation; Lehmann[3] explains the first member of the name as meaning 'bare, bald'. Höge[4] declares the M. E. *pitill* to be a diminutive formation from M. E. *puttock* 'a kite', and N. E. D. assumes a formation 'perhaps from 'root *putt* of *puttock*', 'of which the ultimate etymology is obscure'.[5]

By way of suggestion, I refer the word to O. E. *potian*, *pyttan*, M. E. *putten*, N. E. *put*, which meant in O. E. 'to prick, prog', thus 'der stechende', with reference to the 'bill' (scarcely to the bird itself), *Blēripittel*, accordingly, would be a bahuvṛhi -cp., meaning 'one whose bill is bare, bald', alluding to the cere of these birds, i. e. the soft, bare skin, covering the base of the bill.[6]

We have regarded all the above-mentioned words as *obscured* ag.-n., in some cases in spite of the existence in O. E. of the primitive word. The obscuring factors have been, in these last cases,
1) *morphological* differentiation: *fuȝol*, *þenȝel*, *ēarendel*
2) *semological* differentiation by sense-development of either the

[1] Cp. Holthausen, Anglia Beibl. 15,72 and Fick p. 101.

[2] JGPh II 167.

[3] Anglia Beibl. 17,296. Cp. foot-note [6]!

[4] Me. Diminutivbildungen p. 17.

[5] Cp., on this root, also Persson, Beitr. p. 262.

[6] Lehmann, ibid.,translates "kahl- oder weissköpfigen Vogel". His view of the word, then, probably tallies with Höge's, insofar as he must regard it as a diminutive formation from the O. E. word *pott* 'pot' — he does not expressly say so, but I can not account for his translation and his words in general in any other way — which word has adopted the sense of 'head'. This would be a very natural sense-development, too, cp. the well-known G. *Kopf*, Fr. *tête*. It is difficult to say which of the explanations should have preference.

derived subst. or the verb: *fenȝel, sprecel, hrætele, hratele, blēri-pyttel.*

The originally agential character is dubious for *fuȝol, ēarendel, sprecel,* and especially for *blēri-pyttel..*

In the words with which we are going to deal below, on the other hand, the substantival ag.-n. remains in association with the still living verb, its primitive word, and is felt as an ag.-n. The sense of the subst., it is true, can be more or less specialized when compared to that of the verb, but the connection between them was clear and could easily and naturally be felt, if reflected upon.

II. Function of nom. ag. felt in O. E.

A. Formations from strong verbs.

1. Formations with pa.-ptc.-vowel.

a. Verb-class I.

With some hesitation as to the quantity of the vowel, I give here:

forridel 'fore-rider, harbinger', recorded once Ælfc Hom. II 168^{10}: cyninȝ - - sende his *forridel.* Cp. O. H. G *wagan-reitil* 'auriga' (: *reita* 'currus, quadriga'), and cp. O. E. *rid(d)a* and *rīdend.*[1]

b. Verb-class II.

bydel, O. H. G. *butil*, Teut. **buðilo-*

: *bēodan* 'to announce, proclaim; bode'

1. 'proclaimer, herald, messenger'; a) 'one who proclaims a person', 'a herald', with much the same sense as *forerynel*, e. g. Johannes wearð - - *bydel* þæs heofonlican æðelinȝes Ælfc Hom I 358^{1}; se *bydel* (of John the Baptist) ȝebiȝde micelne heap to scyppende mid his bodunȝe 356^{14}, where the sense approaches that of 2. So also 358^{18}_{2}, 356_{13}, 362^{9}, L. S. XVI

[1] Whether *ī* or *ĭ* is not to be settled; BT. and Sw. give *ī*, Weyhe PBB 30, 104 gives *ĭ(?)*. It is the only uncertain word, as regards quantity of vowel, of all living ag.-n. in *-el* in O. E. In view of the gradation-form generally met with in these formations and of what is said below, I assume a short vowel. — Ælfc's *ridda* with *dd* as compared with *forridel* will prove nothing against this assumption, since that is the usual spelling for that word throughout the O. E. period.

95. b) 'one who proclaims a person's will; a messenger' e. g. enȝlum, þæt is to ȝodes *bydelum* Hom. I 344_{13} (cp. 344_{11} : heahenȝlum, þæt is to healicum *bodum* : *boda* is the usual word for enȝel and the only one used in poetry in that sense); sende se casere his *bydelas* and bead L. S. XXIII 47. So also Hom. I $222_{18, 3}$, 520_{14}, $525_{16, 15}$; L. S. XXIII 52. Exod. 32_{15}; Jos. 3_{2}.

2. 'preacher', the most usual sense of the word, typical of Ælfc, e. g. þa *bydelas* ȝehældon -- healte and blinde (of the disciples), Ælfc Hom. I 208_{4}; L. S. XVI 147 : twelf apostolas wæron þe wunedon mid him and twa and hund seofontiȝ he ȝeceas him to *bydelum*. So also I Cn 26, II 84_{4}, Genes. 41_{43}, Polity 308 V, 310^{1}, and Ælfc extremely often.

3. 'bˌeadle', e. g. hlaford --- ȝelomlice þurh his *bydelas* his ȝafoles mynȝað IV Eg 1_{2}. So also Rect. 18, Cl. gl. 394^{12}.

The word does not occur in poetry.[2]

Here belongs also, as an originally agential formation, though in O. E. a concrete nom. virtutis.

crypel 'cripple', glossing paralyticus, dsg. *cryple* Lind. L. 5_{24}, sume hi wæron blinde and deafe and sume *crypeles* and sume dumbe Assm. Ælfc XV 363 (p. 180). Also an *adj. crypel*, perhaps the same word, e. g. unhal cild ne *crypel*, ne dumb, ne deaf ib. XV 322.

: *creopan;* Teut. **crupila*, MLG. *cropel*, not identical with O. N. *kryppil* (< **krumpil*)[3]. Commoner in the cp.

eorðcrypel with the same sense: nsg. *eorðcrypel* Lind. L. 5_{18}; *eorðcryppel* Mt. 8_{6}; Lind. Ru. Mk. 2_{4}; dsg. *eorðcrypple* Mt. 9_{2}; 9_{6}; Mk. 2_{5}; 2_{10}; *eorðcryple* Mk. I 2_{14}; 2_{9}; Ru. Mk. $2_{9, 10}$; asg. **eorðcrypel* Lind Ru. Mk. 2_{3}; Lind L. I 4_{20}; Mt. 9_{2}; *eorðcrypele* Ru. Mk. 2_{5}; *eorðcryppel* Lind Mt. I 18_{7}; apl. *eorðcryplas* Mt. 4_{24}.

Both words thus belong almost exclusively to Northumbr.[4]

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[1] Cp. *crypel* cuniculum 'burrow', from the same vb. (cp. *smyȝel*).

[2] Full references to the word *bydel* : Mart. 104^{5}; IV Eg 1_{2} = BCS III 388^{17}; Rect. 18; Ælfc Hom I 4^{12}; 208_{4}; $222_{18, 3}$; 310^{12}; 320^{9}; 344_{13}; $352\frac{1}{2}^{18}$; 354_{2}; $356\frac{1}{3}^{14}$; 358^{1}; 362^{9}; 390_{6}; $520\frac{6}{14}$; $524_{16, 15}$; 584_{14}; 598_{2}; II $36_{6, 4}$; 74^{11}; $126_{7, 5, 4}$; 202_{11}; 320^{8}; $372^{6, 8}$; $374^{9, 12}$; 430_{10}; $530^{2, 9}$; $534_{8, 7, 6, 11, 13, 17, 20}$; $536^{12, 13}$; 538_{13}; 558^{15}; L. S. XVI 95; 147; 151; XIX 154; XXII 65; 196; XXIII 47; 52; XXIV 183; Assm. Ælfc 56_{142}; Ælfc de Test. 12^{18}; 19^{38}; Genes. 41_{43}; Exod. 32_{15}; Joshua 3_{2}; Ælfc gr. 276^{2}; gl. 318^{8} (præco); Ws. ev. Lk. 12_{58} (exactor); Wulfst. 79^{14}; 176^{23}; $178^{8, 11}$; 190^{9}; $191^{4, 22}$; 273^{15}; Polity 308 $V_3{}^{16}$; 310^{1}; Cl. gl. 394^{12}; KCD 1353 VI 211_{8}; Grið 19_{1} = I Cn 26; II Cn 84_{4}; XII Abus. 303_{5}; Nap. gl. 1_{5112} (cp. foot-note ibid.)

[3] Cp. Weyhe PBB 30, p. 113.

[4] See Jordan, Eigentümlichkeiten d. Angl. Wortsch. p. 80.

c. Verb-class III.

rynel 'river'; *rynelas* rivos Reg. Ps. 64,11; *reneles* Eadw. Ps. ib. (other versions have *rinnellan*, which will have to be regarded in agreement with THIELE § 31 e and KLUGE, Nom. St. l. § 157).[1]

: *rinnan*, 'to run, flow'. Cp. next word.

rynel 'runner, courier'; quasi cursor swa *renel* Kent. gl. 949; cursor *rynel* Ælfc gl. 305[18] (Zup.); translating concurrentium as an astronomical term Byrhtf. 302[33]: us ȝelustfullað þissera *rynela* anȝin preostum ætywon.

: *rinnan*, oftener *iernan*. As regards the simple consonant of *rynel* (cp. Goth. ptc. *runnans*), it is a proof of the great age of the word (cp. *ryne*, Goth. *runs* 'Lauf'.[2]

for(e)rynel 'forerunner'; eala wisdom. þu eart boda and *forerynel* ðæs soðan leohtes Boeth. 103[26]; morȝenstiorra — se *forrynel* Metr. 29,25; se ðe þone sacerdhad onfehð, he onfehð friccan scire and *foreryneles* ða her iernað beforan cyninȝum and bodiȝeað hira færelt and hira willan hlydende Past. 91[21]; Ælfc Hom. I 356$_5$; 364[6]; 484$_2$; L. S. XXIII B 505 — cyrcan þæs halȝan *forryneles* and fulluhteres Johannes —; 626; Ælfc de Novo test. 12[24]; Ev. Nic. 601[7] (in all these cases of John the Baptist); Scint. 37 b.

samodrynel, astronomical term: æfter þisre ȝewritenan forespræce on endebyrdnesse þæs ȝerimes synt ȝemearcode þa concurrentes þa synt *samod rynelas* ȝenemned Byrhtf. 302[10].

d. Verb-class IV.

hūsbrycel 'a house-breaker, burglar'; clasmatorius efractor *husbrycel* Harl. gl. 205[28]. Cp. O. H. G. *husprehho* prædator, O. S. *husbrukil*, adj. 'thievish'.[3]

: *brecan* IV, originally V.

THIELE,[4] strangely enough, renders this word by 'Einbruch', probably owing to a misunderstanding of Sw.'s "*husbrycel* 'housebreaking' Gl.", by which I suppose Sw. meant an

[1] Cp. on this word NED. *rindle* and *runnel;* SCHLUTTER ESt. 38,21; 40,302; WILDHAGEN ESt. 39,206; 40,308.

[2] Cp. NOREEN, Urg. Lautl. pp. 13,159.

[3] GALLÉE, Vorstudien p. 156.

[4] Kons. Suff. d. Abstr. d. Ae. p. 91.

adjectival ptc., not a nom. act.; the word is regarded as an adj. by Schön[1], who compares it to *æ-brucol* 'sacrilegious', *scip-brucol* 'causing shipwreck'. In support of the adjectival nature of the word, might be adduced N. E. *brickle, britchel* 'liable to break, fragile', but that adj., even in its earliest (= M.E.) records, appears only with *passive* sense, as synonymous with O. E. *brytel*, N. E. *brittle* : *brēotan*. **brycel* 'fragile' certainly has existed as an O. E. adj., but is not the one recorded here, which has *active* sense and, to judge from the lemma at least, *substantival* character; *effractor* is only given as a sb. by Duca. (e. g. effractores domuum). Of course, it may be originally an adj., cp. O. S. *husbrukil*.

One might be uncertain — as far as the quality of the vowel goes — whether in prim. Teut. the vowel was *e* or *u* (**brecila* or **brucila*), in the first case with pres.-t.-vowel or pa. ptc.-vowel of the vb. with its oldest inflection (V). The latter alternative — pa. ptc.-vowel (V) — does not seem likely, as the change of verb-classes is very old, cp. O. H. G. *gibrohhan*, Goth. *brukans*, and also such O. E. formations as *wiðerbroca* 'adversary' (beside *wiðerbreca*), nom. act. *bryce*, O. H. G. *bruh*, *pruh*. And besides, rounding of an *ĭ* (< Teut. *ĕ*)[2] is not to be assumed, unless in a certain text it is the rule, which seems not to be the case in Harl. gl.: even *twi-* which is otherwise so often rounded into *twy-*, always shows the unrounded form in this glossary.

e. Verb-class V.

ēarscripel 'ear-scraper', name of the little finger.

: *screpan*, M. H. G. *schreffen* 'to scrape'.

Records: applare *eorscripel* Co. A 706;[3] auricularis *earscrypel* Br. gl. 291[27], with *y* for *i*.

[1] Bildung d. Adj. im Ae. p. 30.

[2] cp. Bülbring § 283.

[3] *ēor-* instead af *ēar-* need not surprise us, cp. *rēod* for *rēad* Co. I 401, *ʒefrēos* (pret. sg.) O 28 and other such cases; cp. Bülbr. § 108 anm. Sweet, in his edition, assumes the gloss to be *eorðcrypel*, the erroneousness of which supposition was shown by Schlutter, Anglia XIX 102, though Schlutter himself in his exposition is guilty of an exaggeration, cp. J. M. Hart, M. L. N. XIV 1899.

Applare will have to be emendated, as is done by SCHLUTTER[1], into *auriculare.*[2]

f. Redupl. verbs.

-ȝenȝel, only in cpp., cp. O. H. G. *gimeitgengil, nahgengil, fuorgengil.*

: *ȝanȝan, ȝān.*

æfterȝenȝel[3] 'successor (in office)' is only recorded from the very earliest texts: nan min *æfterȝenȝles* þær of ne nime Ags. Chron. 39^{19} (E), A. D. 675; min *æfterȝenȝle,* gpl, 39^{29}, A. D. 675; swa þæt nan min *æfterȝenȝles* ðær nan þinȝ of ne nime BCS I 49 p. 81^{4}, A. D. 680.

foreȝenȝel[3] 'predecessor (in office)'; mine *forȝenȝles* (said by king Edgar) Ags. Chron. 123^{7} A. D. 963; be ȝeleaffulra cinȝa daȝan, minra *forȝenȝlan* BCS I 94 p. 137^{19} A. D. 697; and ealle þa þinȝ þe þine *forȝenȝles* and min ȝeatton III 583^{4} A. D. 972; ðat ðer euere undon wrðe ðat ure *fordȝenȝles* uðen and ðat we unnen habben into ðat heli minster KCD IV 231_{6} (Eadweard; no date given by ed.). — Note also the pl.-form *vorgenglen* in M. E., Lay. 25082.[4]

It should be observed that these two words belong exclusively to the Ags. Chron., where they are the only ones used to express the idea in question, and to the charters. The usual words in other texts, generally also in the charters, are *fore-* and *æfterȝenȝa, æfterfylȝend. -ȝenȝel,* evidently, is the older

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[1] Anglia XIX 102.

[2] JORDAN, Eigentümlichkeiten d. angl. Wortsch. p. 80, remarks in passing, in speaking of this word, that *applare* should not be changed into *auriculare,* but that the sense of the word is 'Löffel', here 'Ohrkratzer'. I cannot understand this explanation. L. *applare,* it is true, exists and means the same thing as L. *cochlear,* i. e. 1)'shell' 2)'anything in the form of a shell' particularly 'spoon, bowl of a spoon' — I suppose such is JORDAN's reasoning. But how could an O. E. word *ēarscripel,* of clear and undisputed etymology, come to bear that sense? It can hardly be supposed that the Anglo-Saxon had got a particular implement in the form of a spoon to clean his ears with! The gloss and lemma Br. gl. 291^{27}, quoted above, place it beyond any doubt that *ēarscripel* was a name of the little finger, adopted from L., and then there will be, as far as I can see, no other possibility of removing the difficulties than by accepting SCHLUTTER's suggestion.

[3] With the main stress on the prefix. If *-ȝenȝel* were stressed, it would have, in this W. S. work, the form **-ȝienȝel* (BÜLBR. § 289).

[4] Overlooked by GÜTE, Persönl. Konkr. im Me.

form, which has been superseded by *-ȝenȝa*, though in documents of a more official character the old form has been retained for a long time: especially the kings themselves, even in late O. E., like speaking of their *foreȝenȝles*, just as they will have heard their fathers (predecessors) do. — In BCS I A. D. 697 we see a blending of the two words, with the suffix of *ȝenȝel*, but the inflection of *ȝenȝa*. Of great interest also is another form that seems to have been overlooked by lexicographers, viz. Ags. Chron. 221[16] A. D. 1086: (æniȝ his) *foreȝenȝra*. We have seen that *foreȝenȝel* is the only word used in the Ags. Chron. to express the idea of 'predecessor', so that is undoubtedly the word intended. As the suffix, however, was felt a little strange and unusual at this late period, the usual *-ere* was *substituted* for it — **ȝenȝere* cannot be an independent formation, in which case it would be **ȝanȝere*.[1] Cp. also *æfterfylȝend*, and in a following part of my treatise *-ȝenȝa* and the chapter treating of double formations.

oȝenȝel 'bar, bolt', originally 'was zurück geht';[2] obex *oȝenȝel* Co. O 107 = Cl. gl. 459[10].[3]

2. Pres.-t. formations.

birele 1 'Schenkin, waitress'.

: *beran IV*, cp. next word, *birele 2*.

ȝif wið eorles *birele* (asg.) man ȝeliȝeð, XII scill 'ȝebete Abt 14; ȝif wið ceorles *birelan* (asg.) man ȝeliȝeð, VI scillinȝum ȝebete; æt ðære oðre þeowan L. scætta; æt þære þriddan XXX scætta Abt. 16. *Birele*, accordingly, was the first of the *þeowan* of an Anglo-Saxon family.[4]

birele, byrele 2 'Mundschenke, cupbearer', glosses and translates L. pincerna.

Records (*poetry*): *byrelas* sealdon win of wunderfatum B. 1161; *byrlas* ne ȝældon, ombehtþeȝnas A. 1533; þurh *byreles* hond Wy. 51; (*prose*): þam cnihte, þe wæs þæs biscopes *byrele* mid medum (Ms. O *byrle*) Greg. 186[22]; *byrelas* Or. 136[14];

[1] BT. gives such a form citing Som. Ben. Lye.

[2] On the prefix, see Lehmann, Präf. *uz-* im Ae. p. 142, 149; cp. also BT., Graff I 6a, Fick p. 28.

[3] Identity of records shown by Sievers, Anglia XIII p. 322.

[4] Cp. Henning, ZfdA. 37,317.

and ælcan ȝesettan discþeȝne, and ȝesettan hræȝlðene, and ȝesettan *biriele*, hund eahtatiȝ mancusa ȝoldis BCS III 75_{10} A. D. 955; *byrlas* Assm. Ælfc 93^{26}; Chron. E 1120; *byrle* Ælfc gl. 303^{2}; suppl. Ælfc voc. 189^{32}; Genes. 40,1; Ælfc Hom II 520^{13} (dsg.); *byrla* (gpl) suppl. Ælfc voc 189^{29}; Genes. 40,9, 20, 21, 23; 49,9; *byrlas* Genes. 40,2; *byrele* Cl. gl. 281^{16}; *birilū* Lind. J. 2,5.

Cp. O. N. *byrli*, *byrlari*, and cp. the secondary vb O. E. *byr(e)lian*, O. N. *byrla*. — In poetry, the form of the word is always *byrele* (except A. where *byrle*), and so also in Ælfred; in Ælfc, and late O. E. prose, *byrle*.[1] A form **byrel*, often given as O. E., e. g., by Sütterlin p. 32, is non-existent.

The word, accordingly, stands quite isolated as regards the form (not a *ja*-derivation, because then pl. **byrellas*, cp. Weyhe ibid.). Weyhe assumes identity between O. N. *byrlari* and O. E. *byrele*, both < **byrelere* with haplology in the O. E. word, and both derived from Teut. sb. **biruilā* 'tragbares Holzgefäss', an explanation which has also been accepted by Both[2] and Holthausen.[3] With this opinion I cannot concur, for many reasons. In the first place, caution must certainly be shown in assuming *prim. Teut.* formations with suff. *-ere*. Then it seems rather daring to assume that haplology operates in such a way as to render a word formally isolated, when it belongs to a common word-group with many and obvious associations. Also from a semological point of view, it may be remarked that the assumed primitive word means 'basket, box', whereas we should rather expect, if desubstantive formation is to be assumed, a word meaning 'bottle, cup', cp. the word adduced by Weyhe, N. E. *butler*. As for O. N. *byrlari*, it is no doubt to be regarded, with Falk[4], as a later modification of the isolated *byrli*.

For my part, I think the most natural explanation will be to assume identity between *birele 1* and *birele 2*, and to regard the former as the original. It is a phenomenon not unusual in O. E., as far as calling-denoting nouns are concerned, that originally fem. words are used to designate male beings, and sometimes even themselves become masc., if the profession in point,

[1] Weyhe, PBB 30 p. 136 ff.; Bülbring §§ 439, 285 anm. 3.
[2] Both p. 9.
[3] Holthausen, Beowulf II.
[4] PBB 14, p. 33.

from belonging to women, becomes a profession followed (also) by men: I need only recall the formations with *-estre*, e. g. *wæscestre, bæcestre, seamestre* etc.[1] Now as regards the present word, the O. E. laws mention both *eorles* and *ceorles birele* as a maidservant in an Anglo-Saxon family, so in that sense the word must have been a common one and familiar to any Anglo-Saxon. The records for the corresponding masc. word, on the other hand, either refer to functionaries of this kind outside England — translating L. pincerna, sometimes puer, e. g. Greg. 186^{22} — or to the butlers of grand (royal) families. Originally in old Teutonic times it will have been the duty of a woman (girl) to perform the function in question, later also young men will have been employed as butlers. And then the actually existing fem. word *birele* was used also for the masc., though with the fem. form retained only in the nsg, whereas in other cases it was attracted by such words as *bydel* and *forrynel*. Thus two paradigms developed, one *birele, bireles*, another *birele, -an*. The masc. form seems even sometimes to have been used for the fem., asg. *birele*, Abt. 14. (cp. *birelan* Abt. 16).

One other possibility may exist. There may have been originally two words, one masc. and another fem., O. E. **byrel* and *birele,* which have been blended. At any rate, I can see no other explanation for the form *birele* than that it was originally fem.

Pres.-t.-vowel was assumed in this word, as is also done by Weyhe ibid. The fem. word only shows *i* and the masc. also occurs with *i* in a passage or two. *y* for *i* is just what is to be expected in this position.[2]

B. Formations from weak verbs.

hrĭsel 'shuttle'. Records: radium *hrisil* Ep. 851; *hrisl* Erf. ib., Co. R 11; ebredio *hrisle* Co. E 10; cada *hrisel* cadula lytel *hrisel* Ælfc voc 158^{30}; radiolum *hrisl* Ælfc voc Suppl. 187^{18}; radiis

[1] Cp. Klump, Handverkernamen p. 59, Kluge, St. l. 50. — Nom. ag. are in general of epicene gender, i. e., masc. but they can designate male or female beings. Sometimes female agents have an ag.-n of their own. It is scarcely more curious that a fem. ag.-n. is used to designate males, under certain circumstances, than the contrary. The epicene gender of ordinary ag.-n. evidently forms the psychological basis for such a development.

[2] Bülbring, Ae. Elementarb. § 283 anm. 2.

rislum Hpt. gl. 494a$_{18}$; radium *hrefl* Br. gl. 294[2]; *hrisl* Cl. gl. 262[10]; ebredio *hristle* Cl. gl. 391[18]; radiis *hrislum* Cl. gl. 504[7]; ne me hrutendum *hrisil* scelfaeð Leid. Ri. 7.

The form Br. gl. *hrefl* is evidently due to an error.[1] As the *e*-vowel is only met with in this record, we need not attach very much weight to it, and, on account of this single case, assume alternative formation with the suffix in its form *-lo* (instead of *-ilo*), as Bülbr. does.[2] I assume as original form **hrisilo-*, with regular syncopation of the vowel in *-sil-* after a short vowel.[3]

For the short vowel, support is found by the insertion of *t* (*hristle*) in Cl. gl. 391[18] and by the natural etymology of the word, which, to judge from the record, Leid. Ri., was still felt in O. E., in spite of its concrete specialized sense. Long vowel is, however, also possible.

: *hrisian*, Goth. *hrisjan*, O. H. G. *ushrisian*, O. S. *hrisian* 'to shake, schütteln'. To this root also belongs *hrīs* 'twig', and the root is generally given as Teut. **χrĭs-* (so e. g. Feist).[4]

mānfordǣdla 'wicked destroyer' (Sw.), 'übeltäter, frevler' (Holth.), occurs B. 563 in the npl. *mānfordǣdlan* of the sea-monsters (= lāðȝetēonan 559).

: *fordōn* 'to destroy, kill', cp. pret. pl. *dǣdon*, O. S. *dādun*, O. H. G. *tātun* and cp. sb. *dǣd*, f. 'action, deed'.

Note 1. A desubstantive formation standing on the border between nom. ag. and concr. nom. virtutis is *ȝeniþla* 'enemy, foe', occurring once, viz. J. 151 : sb. *nīþ* m. 'envy, hatred', prim. Teut. **nīþilō(n)*, not **-nīþlo*, because then it would become O. E. **genīdla*.

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[1] Symbols for *s* nnd *f* are very similar in O. E. Mss.

[2] Bülbring § 444.

[3] Cp. Weyhe p. 128; this word not given by him, since be reads *hrīsel*.

[4] Cp. also Brasch p. 104 and literature there quoted. — The assumption of *ī*, thus *hrīsel*, is not due, as Brasch thinks, to the necessity of derivation from *hrīs*, cp. O. N. *hrīsla*, but to the metrical reason advanced by Sievers PBB IX 503, that Leid. Ri. 7 demands a long syllable, and so the said derivation has been suggested. Now the verb *hrisian* has a short vowel in O. E., and so it seems preferable to regard the vowel of *hrisel* as short, too (cp. also the quoted *hristle*). As for the form in Leid. Ri., it will oblige us to assume alternatively long vowel, unless that form can be explained in another way, as I think it can. I propose to read in that case **hrissel*, cp. Goth. *hrisjan*, weak vb 1, thus originally O. E. **hrissan* > *hrisian* (Schuldt § 155, Sievers Ags. Gr. § 400 Anm. 1), which subst. has later on, following the verb, obtained simple *s*.

Cp. also *ȝenīþla* m. or *ȝenīþle* f. 'enmity'. Commoner than the simple word are its cpp., all of which are poetical, too: *eald* ~ A. 1048; 1341; Jud. 228; *feorh* ~ B. 969; 1540; 2933; *ferhð* ~ B. 2881; *ȝāst* ~ J. 245; *lāð* ~ J. 232; Ph. 50; *mān* ~ A. 916; *sweord* ~ E 1180; *torn* ~ A. 1230; E 568; 1305.

Note 2. The word *þrāl*, occurring in late O. E., is a Scand. loanword,[1] O. N. *þræll*; cp. O. H. G. *drigil*. The possible character of an original ag.-n. (: Goth. *þragjan* laufen; cp. Löwe, Germ. Sprachw. 49), accordingly, does not concern us in this connection.

Note 3. To judge from the L. lemma, the word given by Wr.-W. as *hæcewol*, glossing *exactor* Ælfc voc 111[9], and as *kæcewol* in Addit. Ms. 111[9] (Anglia VIII 449), would also seem to belong here. As has long been known, the word is to be read *kæcepol* and is an O.Fr. loanword, O.Fr. *cachepoll* (= Central Fr. *chacepol*, Med. L. *chassipulus*, thus meaning 'chase-fowl', 'one who hunts fowls', also used as proper name.[2]

Note 4. A form *bydle* (= bydla), occurring Lind. J. 9,31 and translating cultor, is given by BT. (Suppl.) with *ȳ* and is referred to *būan* (*būend* = cultor). For obvious morphological reasons the word, however, cannot be a direct derivation from this verb. It should be read *bȳdla* and be put on a par with an unrecorded W. S. **bytla*, as has already been shown by Sievers.[3] For this word, derived from the sb. *botl* 'building', see *jan*-suff.

Note 5. The substantivized adj. in *-ol* appear, when used with weak flexion, with the ending *-ola* or *-ela*. It will sometimes be tempting to regard them as substantival ag.-n., formed with suff. *-ilŏ* directly from the verb. In most cases certainly the adjectival character is prominent, as for instance in *se ȝifola*, not meaning 'giver', but 'a bounteous man', but other cases can be more complicated. Take the word *bitel(a)* 'beetle', occurring in the different forms, *bitela*, *bitula*, *bitel*, *betel*.[4] The originally ad-

[1] Björkman, Scand. Loanwords p. 19.

[2] Cp. Schmid, Ges. d. Ags.[2] 219; Zupitza, Academy 28,325; Sievers, Anglia 13,314; Mettig, ESt. 41,225 ff. and NED *catchpole (catchpoll)*.

[3] Ags. Gr. § 196,2. Cp. Weyhe's treatment of Teut. *-þl-* in O. E. PBB 30,67 ff., and cp. Füchsel p. 51.

[4] Cortelyou p. 13.

jectival nature of the word is proved, or at least made likely by the ending *-ula,* in Ep. Erf. 145 and Co. B. 143, though **bitol* is unrecorded as an adj. *Bitela* is accordingly developed from *bitula.* As regards the form *bitel,* I do *not,* like Cort., regard it as the adj. **bitol* with strong flexion, but as a *new-formation* from the *dpl. bitelum,* regularly developed out of *bitulum,*[2] which new nsg. was coined on the model of other animal-names in *-el,* above all the synonymous *wifel.* — Another substantivized adj. is also *clipol, ðone clypolan* 'vowel'.

Character of O. E. nom. ag. with l-suffix.

The above survey of nom. ag. in *-el* is intended to comprise all *lo*-formations existing in O. E. which were felt as ag.-n. in O. E., or are best explained as original ag.-n. Particular attention has been paid to the *form* of the suffix, the *ablaut-grade* of the words, the *age* of the words, as far as it can be settled, and to their *sense.* If we sum up the observations made, we thus arrive at the following results.

a) Form of the suffix.

Without a middle vowel only the uncertain *ȝīsel, wesle* (possibly), and *fuȝol* are met with.

With middle vowel -a- or *-u-* we find likewise only some rather uncertain cases, viz., *awel, wapol, wesle, sprecel* (possibly), *hratele* (cp. above p. 57).

With middle vowel -i-, finally, we meet with the majority of the agential *-lo*-formations, i. e., all those words that were still felt as ag.-n. in O. E., and all those words that designate persons (except the uncertain *ȝīsel*), and also most of the others. It is thus under the form Teut. *-ilo-*, O. E. *-el* that this suffix appears in O. E. with agential function, just as is the case with the cognate instrumental and with the diminutive words, though in the latter groups there are many more certain formations with other forms of the suffix than in the agential words. For the settling of the productivity of the type, we need, accordingly, only consider the *-ilo*-formations.

[1] The ending *-ula* also forms diminutives (cp. Eckhardt), and in this case there is possibly a sb. from which *bitula* might be formed, viz. *-bita,* cp. *hræð-bita,* glossing the same L. word *(blatta).* For its *diminutive* meaning the fact could be advanced that its lemma is *mordiculus,* meaning, as Cort. remarks, "der kleine Beisser". The other explanation seems, however, more likely, especially since the form *-bita* is only recorded as part of a cp.

[2] Bülbring §§ 404. 417, Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 129.

b) Ablaut-grade of the words.

For some of the words it is not possible to decide the ablaut-grade, since the question of the primitive word is not definitely settled. In a few cases, we have to do with formations from weak verbs, as in *hrisel* and *mānfordǣdla*, perhaps also in *emel*, *h(n)ydele*, *hratele*, *pyttel*.

Pret.-t.-vowel was found in a few obscured *ilo*-formations, viz. *wencel* (beside *wincel*), *sprecel* (if < **sprakila;* perhaps, however, < **sprecala*), *wiðerwenȝel* (possibly; primitive word uncertain), *ēarendel*.

Pres.-t.-vowel was met with in *sprindel, wincel, winewincle*, and probably in *birele, byrele*, and then in all cases where the primitive word was a verb of classes V, VI, and sometimes redupl. vbs, i. e. *wifel, sprecel* (if < **sprecala*), *fenȝel, þenȝel, ēarscripel, -ȝenȝel*, in which cases, however, it is preferable to assume *pa-ptc.-vowel*. The pres.-t.-vowel in the derivatives from verbs of class III *(sprindel, wincel, winewincle)* is not surprising, cp. the similar state of things in the *an*-formations (in *wiðerwinna, siȝelhweorfa*); except for the old word *rynel* we have no *lo*-derivatives with weak vowel from these verbs.

The *(i)lo*-words felt as as ag.-n. in O. E. are all (except possibly *byrele*) formed with *pa.-ptc.-vowel*, which is evidently the proper vowel of these formations (cp. nom. instrumenti in *-ilo*); certainly *byrele*, too, was felt in O. E. to contain the same ablaut-grade, when appearing with *y*. In one case the vowel was uncertain, viz., in *forridel*, for which two interpretations are possible; it probably shows the same structure as the other words and so has been classified among pa. ptc. formations and is to be pronounced with a short ĭ.

c) Productivity of the suffix.

The words dealt with above, under I A and B, i. e., obscured ag.-n., are, as a matter of course, pre-English formations. The only word about which there might be some slight doubt is *hrætele, hratele*, only recorded in O. E., which may be a formation dating from the time between the palatalization of Teut. *a* and the *i*-mutation, at the latest, in which case the by-form *hratele* would be due to secondary, renewed attraction from the verb; yet it is likely to be older, since the verb is scarcely known definitely to have existed in O. E. (cp. above). As regards the words under II, they

are, like the others, chiefly derivatives from strong verbs, and there are only two words, at most, formed from weak verbs, a fact which in itself points to an earlier age as being the flourishing period of the suffix. We find *bydel, crypel, þenȝel, -ȝenȝel, husbrycel* in other Teut. dialects, and in these words, as well as in *rynel, ēarscripel, birele*, the form of the words reveals them as pre-English creations, since it indicates sound-laws that have been at work in the common Teutonic period. Such a word as *ēarscripel*, it is true, seems to be a creation made by the glossator to render L. auricularius, since that name of the little finger, like other such names (*hālettend* salutarius, *bīecniend* index), are evidently to be referred to the L., and the cp. *ēarscripel* is, indeed, likely never to have occurred before; but there certainly did exist a word **scripel*, meaning 'scraper', or the glossator would not have made such a formation from *screpan*, from mere analogy with other words — moreover, there are none among the other words in *-el* that could have offered any great attraction, as far as I can see; but he would have coined an **earscrepend*, like *hālettend* and *bīecnend*, or some similar formation. The form of *mānfordædla*, too, removes it to an earlier period[1]. *Hrisil* is not recorded in other Teut. dialects. In view of the explanation suggested above (p. 66) of the record Leid. Ri. it is, however, likely to be a pre-English formation, as is also the case if long vowel is to be assumed in the word, since the verb only occurs with short vowel in O. E.; at any rate it is of very early Anglo-Saxon date at the latest, since it occurs even in the very oldest records (Leid. Ri., Ep. Erf. gl.). The only word, then, for which pre-historic formation is not evident, is *forridel*, recorded only in O. E.[2] and only once, viz. in Ælfc. Hom. Indeed, I am inclined to regard this word as an O. E. new-formation. It translates L. *præcursor*, in other cases rendered by *forerynel*. Now, *forerynel* occurs six times in Ælfc's texts[3], but always with reference to John the Baptist. In this particular case, however, the L. *præcursor* was used of a king's harbinger, and as *forerynel* had evidently acquired the aforesaid particular application to John the Baptist in Ælfric's mind, he could

[1] I will not deny the possibility of another explanation of this word, viz. as a desubstantive word (: *dǣd*) but with the prefix of a verb corresponding to that sb. (*fordōn*).

[2] Not in other Teut. dial., but twice in M. E. (Ancr. Riwl) (Güte p. 54). Cp. G. (*wagan-*) *reitil*, which is not identical, being a desubstantive formation.

[3] See above, p. 60.

not employ it in this connection, but had recourse to a new-formation. Then, when coining a new word with the sense of 'fore-rider', the other word *forerynel* was so prominent in his mind as an "inducing morphem" that he created a new *-el*-formation in spite of the existence of another ag.-n. derived from *rīdan*, viz. *ridda* (cp. *bedrida*), which is also Ælfric's word for 'rider' and a usual word in his texts, too (see *an*-formations). Cp. also remarks on semology below.

To judge from the O. E. ag.-n. material formed with *l*-suffix, there will thus seem to exist only one single case where the suffix *-ilo*, or rather *-el*, was used *in O. E. times* to form a nom. ag. To answer the question definitely, however, whether the agent-forming faculty of our suffix had really altogether ceased in pre-English times already, we had perhaps better cast a glance at the state of things in M. E., too, which can easily be done with the aid of Güte's treatise on "Die productiven Suffixe der persönl. Konkreta im Me.", where he deals also (p. 53 ff.) with the O. E. *el*-suffix.

The number of M. E. *el*-words given by him [I cannot, of course, guarantee the exhaustiveness of his material; indeed, I gave above (p. 62) one example of such a word which is not found in his work (*vorȝenȝlen* Lay. 25082)] is very small; most of them, however, are given as "Neubildungen" (not "Erbwörter aus dem Altenglischen"). Yet it will be found that none of the new-formations given by him are nom. ag. derived from verbs. Some of them have arisen through "Suffixerweiterung" *(er > erel)*, whereby the agential sense of the original form is often modified; as, for instance, in *sokerel* 'suckling' < *sokere*, where the addition of *-el* transforms the ag.-n. into a diminutive, or *dottrelle* 'a silly person' < *dote* 'a dotard', where the *-rel*-suffix (coming from words of the type of *sokerel*) serves to increase the opprobrious sense of the primitive word[1]. Others are denominative formations of other than agential character, and in other words the Fr. suffix *-el(le)* will be found. Only in one of his words are we concerned, according to his own explanation, with a M. E. new-formation from a verb, which word would then be an ag.-n., viz. *sauntrelle* (*ăπ . λεγ .*) 'saunterer, stroller' : *sauntren*, N. E. *saunter* < O. Fr. *s'aventurier*. This word, however, which is rather uncertain as regards both form and sense, will be better interpreted, with N. E. D.

[1] Güte p. 55.

("perhaps"), as a variant of *saintrell* 'pretended saint' < O. Fr. *sainterel*, diminutive of *saint*, and is thus quite a different word with quite a different meaning from what Güte supposes.

Sütterlin, p. 39, makes no definite pronouncement as to the vitality of the suffix in *O. E.*, only in Engl. on the whole. He writes: "Auch auf dem Gebiet des Englischen ist das Suffix untergegangen. Von den im Ags. so zahlreichen Adj. ist — ausser ags. ficol, ne. fickle kaum eines mehr in der Schriftsprache erhalten". Consequently, we find no indication as to the time when, in the course of the development of the English language, the suffix ceased to be a productive one.

In the above investigation, we have arrived at the result that only in one case was *-el* used in O. E. as an ag.-forming suffix in a new-formation, and then only in a case where the inducing morpheme was very active and was, indeed, of a most "inducing" character. We have also found that the suffix did not form nom. ag. from verbs in M. E. It can thus be set down as a fact, it seems, that *Teut. -ilo, O. E. -el, as an agent-forming suffix, was not productive in O. E.*, unless particularly strong attraction from a word of great similarity was at work (cp. also d), below). A living suffix it was, however, insofar as its character of an ag.-forming element was felt; the association between the verb and the derived ag.-n., as well as the semological relation between them, was still prominent.

d) Semology of el-formations.

From the points of view taken up above in the Introduction, the semology of the *el*-formations affords very little of interest. They are almost all of them *denominational ag.-n.* So are all the words designating *things*, *plants*, and *animals* — which constitute, indeed, the majority (see below) — and so are also most of the person-denoting words, viz. *birele, [wincel], fenȝel, þenȝel, husbrycel, forerynel* (in the existing records at least this word is always used as a characterizing ag.-n.), *forridel, wiðerwenȝel, mānfordǣdla, bydel.*[1] As regards the last word, *bydel*, it is clearly denominational in sense 3, where it is calling-denoting, and so also generally in senses 1. and 2., since it is only used of persons whose office was that of a preacher. On the border of *assertive* and denominational sense, it seems, however, to occur in the instance

[1] Cp. records given above, generally given with context.

Ælfc Hom I 4[12]: fela ȝedrecednyssa and earfoðnyssa becumað on ðissere worulde — — — sa synd þa *bydelas* þæs ecan forwyrdes on yfelum. As for *rynel*, its sense is not exactly to be stated; it occurs only as a gloss of cursor, which means both 1. runner and 2. courier — generally the latter; probably it is denominational. As *assertive* ag.-n. will have to be regarded *efter-* and *fore-ȝenȝel*, yet approaching the denominational sense. *Crypel* has altogether assumed, in O. E., the character of a concrete nom. virt.

The *l*-suffix in O. E. was thus essentially connected with denominational meaning. That such should be the case is also quite natural and *a priori* to be expected. Of words formed while the suffix was still productive, only those have survived that have become stereotyped as ordinary appellatives, whereas for the others — if such ever existed — words representing later modes of formation have generally been substituted. The cause of this phenomenon in the different cases is to be sought in the primitive word, as well as in the suffix, as an example will easily show. Of the three chief senses of O. E. *bydel* given above, the sense 3. *('beadle')* — with a great many different applications in N. E., see N. E. D. — has alone survived; i. e., the sense that was most clearly denominational, in which the word is a calling-denoting ag.-n. with little connection — in N. E. no connection at all — with the primitive word. The other senses in which the sb. retained a closer connection with the verb have, as a matter of course, become extinct, because the primitive word, O. E. *bēodan*, has undergone great formal changes and has been supplanted in a great many uses by other verbs, so as to make association between sb. and vb. impossible. Now it is in the very nature of an assertive ag.-n that it should be closely associated with a certain verb in a certain sense, and the subst. (ag.-n.) must not exhibit any very great specialisation of sense in relation to the verb. Hence it will be a clear corollary that, as a rule, only productive suffixes appear in any language with the function of forming assertive ag.-n. As for *-ilo- (-el)*, it was, in O. E., at the stage when the productivity of the suffix was lost, but when the association between the vb. and the sb. was still fairly prominent (cp. above p. 72).

Another semological aspect of agential *lo*-formations is, however, of greater interest than the one from which they have just been discussed, viz., that involving the question of what is designated by them. The following table will be enough to show how,

from that point of view, they distribute themselves among the different categories. Uncertain ag.-n are printed in small type.

	Names of "things"	Plant-names	Animal-names	Person-designating ag.-n.
Obscured ag.-n. in O. E.	*sprindel* *wifel* 'arrow' *eȝle* 'ail' cwydele awel, -ul wapol ēarendel sp(r)ecel, occurring in plant-name -pyttel, occ. in animal-name	*hnydele* *hydele* [haran sprecel] *hrætele*	*emel* *iȝil* *wifel* 'beetle' *eȝle*, 'dormouse' *winewincle* wesle fuȝol [blēri-pyttel]	*ȝīsel* *[wincel]* *wiðerwenȝel* *fenȝel* *þenȝel*
Felt as ag.-n. in O. E.	*rynel*, 'river' *(samod)rynelas* *earscripel* *ōȝenȝel* *hrisel*			*forridel* *bydel* [crypel] *rynel* *forerynel* *husbrycel* *æfter-,foreȝenȝel* *birele* *mānfordǣdla*

It is interesting to observe that nearly all the person-designating *el*-formations that were felt as ag.-n. in O. E. are united into one semological group, insofar as their primitive words are verbs of motion and as they very often express 'one preceding somebody' (often to announce somebody or something). Such is the case with the only new-formation met with in O. E., viz., *forridel*, as was even before the case with *forerynel*, *rynel* (probably), and also *bydel* though not derived from a verb of motion, cp. records above p. 58 f., also in the sense of 'beadle', as the oldest O. E. record shows (he com beforan Criste on middanȝeard, swa se morȝensteorra cymð beforan þære sunnan swa swa *bydel* beforan deman cymð, ond swa swa byme clypeð beforan cyninȝe Mart. 104[5]) —. For *æfter-* and *foreȝenȝel* the same thing may be said to be true, only the sense is, in those cases, one

preceding or succeeding somebody from a temporal, not local, point of view — note also that *forezenzel* is retained much longer than *æfterzenzel*, which falls out of use very early, being supplanted by *æfterzenza* and *æfterfylzend*. In the concrete nom. virtutis *crypel*, the primitive word is also a verb of motion, and in *birele* motion is likewise implied: the servant carrying about the cups of beer and wine to the guests. Only in *husbrycel* — if that word was much used, which is scarcely likely, since it is only found once as a glossword; moreover it may be an original adj., in this case used substantively, cp. above p. 60 f. — does a somewhat different word occur, but it will have been likely, if heard or used, to have conveyed to the Anglo-Saxon the sense of 'one walking about (in the night) and breaking into houses (to steal)'. One might, indeed, feel inclined, from an *O. E.* point of view and as far as *person-designating nom. ag.* are concerned, to style this word-formative element *the suffix of wandering professions.*

e) Remarks concerning style and chronology.

It will be clear from the semological character of the *ilo*-subst, that they are common and ordinary prose words. Only in two cases, viz., the words *fenzel* (*penzel*) and *mānfordǣdla* (so also *zenīðla*), have we before us exclusively poetical words, both of the nature of kennings. It is worth noting that the most usual O. E. *el*-word, viz. *bydel*, is never recorded in poetry (cp. *boda*).

As regards chronology, no difference of any importance between early and late O. E. is to be found. The *ilo*-formations in existence were, as has been shown, inherited from an earlier epoch and were generally used throughout the O. E. period. Only in a few cases, in *fenzel*, *penzel*, and *mānfordǣdla*, i. e., the existing poetical *ilo*-formations, do we find words belonging only to the oldest literature, and the person-designating *zenzel-* cpp. certainly represent an older usage than the synonymous *zenza*-cpp. or other synonymous words, though *forezenzel* is recorded also in late O. E., and even once in M. E. Some of the O. E. *el*-agents live on also in M. E. times, and a very few have been retained up to the present day, though their character of ag.-n. was, of course, lost long ago.

As regards the reasons for the extinction of our suffix, Süt-terlin (p. 39) writes: "Ein Grund für den Untergang unseres suf-

fixes in allen germanischen Dialekten lässt sich wohl kaum angeben. Lautliche Verhältnisse können dabei schwerlich in Betracht gekommen sein. Denn auch nach Abschwächung des Mittelvokals fiel das Bildungselement immer noch in die Ohren."

Before answering the question, Why a word-formative element, in this case the *l*-suffix as agent-forming, has become extinct in a certain language, it is necessary to investigate the rival means of word-formation, since these latter might possess certain positive advantages, against which the word-formative element in question, even though it may have had no special drawbacks, could not maintain itself. Yet I think the *ilo*-formations will have had a few disadvantages which made them succumb in the struggle with other suffixes. Thus, for instance, — and here comes, indeed, "ein lautliches Verhältnis in Betracht" — the weak vowel of the stem of these formations, which we found constituted the prevalent Ablaut-grade will decidedly have been a disadvantage, and — as was certainly also the case with the *an*-agents, which will be dealt with in a later part of my treatise — a contributory factor in the extinction of the type. According to Teutonic usage, verbal derivatives with active sense attach themselves to the present forms of the verbs. Now there was not in O. E. a single person-designating *el*-noun in common use that was derived from a weak verb, but all were derivatives from strong verbs with the vowel of the pa. ptc. Another reason for the extinction of the suffix will certainly also have been its ambiguous character. As was remarked above (p. 42 ff.), the *ilo*-suffix occurs in a great many functions, and functions of a most varied character, too, without any difference in form in different uses. It was very usual in "Konkretbenennungen" of various descriptions, above all as a means of forming nom. instrumenti. As a person-denoting suffix, on the other hand, it was chiefly felt to possess diminutive force — thus, for example, in personal names; thus, above all, the idea of littleness associated itself with the suffix at the expense of other senses; cp. the state of things in M. E., which is very illustrative of this fact, and, in my mind, quite conclusive. — The foreign *-āri(us)*, *-ere* certainly had greater attractions for the ancient Anglo-Saxons (Teutons) as a means of expressing their callings.

Chapter 2: Nomina agentis in -end.

Introductory remarks.

Origin an original function of the suffix.

The suffix with which we are here going to deal is the specific means used since I. E. times to form the *active ptc.* I then disregard the fact that the formations made with this suffix are, as regards their *origin*, not verbal forms at all, but *adj.*, which, later on, associated themselves with certain tenses of verbs, their form making it possible to interpret them as formations from a tense-stem, as well as from the root; and they thus passed over into real verbal forms.[1]

Beside its use for the formation of the active ptc., the suffix. *-nt-* (*-n̥t-*, *-ent-*) also assumed the function of forming *ag.-n.* of the root in question, later on also of the verb. To what extent such nom. ag. are root-formations cannot be decided, but so much is fairly certain, that many of them never belonged to a particular tense-stem, and, consequently, never passed through the ptc. stage, but are evidently formations made directly from the root. Such a word surviving in O. E., as well as in the other Teut. languages, is, probably, *tōþ* 'tooth', Goth. *tunþus* etc., L. *dens*, I. E. **dent- (?)*, **dont-*, **dn̥t.*[2]

Such words, however, as far as they survive in O. E. or other Teut. dialects, are there etymologically obscured, the sense of their originally agential character having been lost long before in pre-Germanic times, and so they do not fall within the scope of our subject. For our purpose, we may be allowed to regard the O. E. *end*-nouns as pres. ptcc. used substantively, with the function of nom. ag., or,

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[1] Brugmann 2:1 § 344 and the literature there quoted, § 516; Paul, Prinzipien[4] § 254.

[2] Brugmann 2:1 § 350; Wilmanns § 266 Anm., where two or three other obscured "participial nouns" are mentioned. Cp. also Müller, Handbuch II: 2, p. 177.

perhaps rather, as *substantival end-formations* of the verb, corresponding to the *verbal or adjectival ende-formations* of the same verb.

end-suff. used to form nom. actionis.

In a few isolated cases, a suffix *-end* appears with another function than that of forming nom. ag. Apart from *duȝuð* and *ȝeoȝuð*, we find in THIELE[1] the following three words: *londbūend*, f. 'Ansiedelung', *lēoht-scēawiȝend*, m. 'Sehen des Lichtes', both formed from verbs, and *þēofend*, *-ent*, late Northu. *þēofunt*, f. 'Diebstahl', which seems to be formed from a sb. (*þēof*). Of these words, however, one is certainly misunderstood, viz. *lēohtscēawiȝend*,[2] the only record of the word being, as far as I know, Cl. gl. 434^{20} : *leohtsceawiȝend lucivida*, which L. word[3] can scarcely be anything else than a sb of the type of *lucifuga*, *agricola*, *scriba*[4], and with the sense of 'light-seer', which is also, of course, the best explanation of the O. E. word.[5] On the other hand, I can add to THIELE's instances the words *ieldend* and *waniend :* næs þa næniȝ *yldend* to þam þæt — L. mora, Prosa-Guþl. 129 V 135 London Ms. (Verc. fragm. has *yldinȝ*); þæt byð his ȝoda *waniȝend* Progn. 172_4 (Ms. *T wanunȝ*). Thus, both words occur side by side with variants of a commoner type and are ἅπ. λεγ., which is also the case with the word *landbūend* quoted above, translating L. colonia in Wunder d. Ostens I,1 (both Mss.),[6] whereas, ibid. II 1 *londbunis* (var. *lanbunes*) is used. So any certain conclusions as to other functions of the *end*-suff., or as to scattered relics of other uses, eventually occurring more frequently in earlier times, cannot be drawn from such scanty and uncertain material. It may be noted, however, that all forms, except *þēofend*, occur in late and even the latest O. E. texts.[7]

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[1] Kons. suff. d. Abstr. im Ae. § 12 anm. 1 (p. 26).

[2] Adopted by THIELE from Sw., who gives *leohtsceawiȝend m. lightseeing*. BT. also renders it by *lightseeing*, and so seems to regard it as an adj.

[3] Not given in the usual L. dictionaries (classical and mediæval).

[4] As for this type, see MÜLLER, Handbuch II: 2 p. 187.

[5] I regret not having been able to discover the source of the gloss.

[6] *Seo landbuend on fruman from Antimolima.*

[7] In this connection, another form should also be mentioned, viz. *ȝebūend* transl. L. domicilium Blickl. Hom. 163^{12}, though M. FÖRSTER, Arch. 122_{248} f. note (cp. HOLTHAUSEN, Arch. 123_{401}), is certainly right in reading in this connection *ȝebūed* = O. H. G. *gabūid* 'Gebäude' (cp. KLUGE, St. l. § 99).

As regards this group — if *þēofend* and the other words are to be put on a par with each other, for which the gender of *landbūend* speaks —, which is still waiting for an altogether satisfactory explanation, I refer to Thiele, ibid., and the literature quoted there.[1]

Other non-agential end-nouns.

With the agential *end*-formations must not be confounded certain other words in *-end*, of a totally different character. These words are:

[*borhhand* 'fideiussor', see Sütterlin p. 24, who has thus even before Schlutter[2] regarded this word as a participial formation, a supposition the obvious erroneousness of which has been shown by Holthausen.[3] The word is a cp. of *borh* and *hand*. Sütterlin's form **borhhend* (after *Hz.*) is not recorded.]

elpend 'elephant' < L. *elephantem* = Med. L. **elpant-*.[4]

olfend, earlier *olfenda* 'camel', probably < Med. L. **oliphant*. cp. O. Fr. *olifant*.[5]

Uncertain words.

In addition to the words given in the two preceding paragraphs, there are a few other nouns in *-end* that are, probably or possibly, not originally agential, though their real character cannot be stated on account of their obscure etymology. In the case of two or three of them, agential character has been assumed by some scholars. These words are:

eowend (*ēo* or *eo*?) 'Zeugungsglied': ȝif þeowmonn þeowne to nedhæmde ȝenede, bete mid his *eowende* Af 25,1 (Ms. H. eowede; Q testiculos perdat). According to Holthausen,[6] who gives *ēowend* with a long diphthong, as do all O. E. dictionaries, it is a nom. ag. to *ēow(i)an* 'zeigen', thus 'Zeiger' > 'Finger' > penis, and he adduces by way of comparison M. H. G. 'der eilfte vinger', an etymology that does not carry conviction.[7]

[1] Note also the type of O. E. adj. in *-lic*, compounded with *end*-nouns for a first member, e. g. *ieldendlic* 'zögernd'. See Schön, Bildung d. Adj. im Ae. § 122.

[2] Anglia XIX 483.

[3] Anglia XXI 236, compl. Anglia XXV 392.

[4] See Jordan p. 19 f., Palander p. 148 ff.

[5] See Jordan p. 132, Palander p. 100 ff.

[6] Arch. 121,298.

[7] *ēowan* (*īewan*) means 'show, lay open to the eye' (etym. connected with *ēaȝe*), cp. *bīecnan*, 'to show by signs, point out', with the nom. ag. *bīecnend*, just with the sense of 'forefinger' (but not 'finger' in general). The latter verb would form a more natural semological basis for such a sense-development as

ȝesend (*ȝesen, iesend, isen*), 'entrails', gl. L. exta, sometimes with the additional gloss *innelfe* : Cl. gl. 393[11], 396[22], 521[33], 532[22], Harl. gl. 231[39].[1]

nowend, nowent 'master of a ship, sailor' : nautorum þara *nomementa* Bd. gl. 53; *nowent* — L. nauta Greg. 346[35]; 347[2, 9, 16]; þam *nowende* ib. 347[15]; naucleri steormannes *nowendes* Ae. gl. Bd (Zup. ZfdA. 31, p. 30); Hpt. gl. 406b$_{19}$; Nap. gl. 1,32; 7,12; New Aldh. gl. 8; naucleri, nauclerus est dominus navis, *nowendes* Nap. gl. 5,8; naucleri *nowende* 8,6. Another instance is given by Nap. in his gl. 1,32 note : sanctus Michael and so æðela *nowend* and se ȝleawa frumlida etc. Ms. 41 Corp. Chr. Coll. Camb. p. 411.

The word is too often recorded to be explained away, with Bouterw., Hpt. gl. 406 b$_{19}$, as a scribal error for *rōwend*. Napier,[2] as does Leo before him,[3] compares the word with O. N. *naust* 'ship-shed', *nór* 'ship', L. *navis*, prim. Teut. **nōu̯-*, and it certainly cannot be disassociated from these words. But as no verb with this stem is known in any language, it cannot well be an originally participial noun. Two possibilities then occur to me, of which the first will perhaps be the more likely one. Either it is an I. E. *u̯ent-formation*, cp. such words in Sanskr. as *vastravant* 'having a dress', denoting, consequently, a person having, being provided with what the primitive word expresses.[4] Or it is a word formed with the suffix prim. Teut. *-ana, -ina*,[5] used to form denominative words denoting 'Vorgesetzte', cp. Goth. *þiudans*, O. E. *þēoden* : *þēod*, O. E. *dryhten* : *dryht*, L. *dominus : domus*. In that case, an original **nōwen* (< **nōu̯-ana*; not Teut. **nou̯ina*, which would have given

H. assumes in this case, than *ēowan* does. The O. E. law-term for a word with this sense, moreover, will undoubtedly be an old word and not quite vulgar, whereas a popular *eowend*, connected with *ēowan*, must have had a smack of jocularity and vulgarity that made it unfit for use in a law-text. The word is probably of another, altogether obscured, origin.

[1] By way of suggestion, I connect the word, for which I have seen no etymology, with O. N. *gisinn* 'leaky' (Cl. Vigf.), orig. a p. ptc. of **gísa* I 'gähnen, sich öffnen', though I leave undecided the question as to what sort of formation it can be; prim. Teut. **ȝisan-* > **ȝesan-* > W. S. *ȝiesen*, Angl. *ȝesen*, with the initial sound sometimes spelt *i* (Bülbring § 56, anm. 2). As regards the sense, cp. O. E. *þearm*, G. *Darm* etc. < **þarma* = Gr. *τόρμος* 'Loch, Öffnung', 'bung-hole', orig. 'Durchgang' (Kluge, Et. Wtb.; F.-T.).

[2] Anecd-Oxon. 1,32, note.

[3] Glossar p. 601.

[4] Brugmann, 2: 1, § 353.

[5] Kluge, St. l. § 20.

**nēn*, cp. Bülbring § 465) must have been attracted by the *end*-nouns, especially the phonologically and semologically similar *rōw-end*, existing already in the earliest O. E. (see p. 89). Both explanations suit the sense of the word, for in both cases it must mean 'one who possesses or commands a ship', and its L. lemma *nauclerus* just means 'Schiffsherr, Schiffspatron'. As for the spelling with *-t*, cp. Bülbr. § 566.

þrōwend 'scorpion' : Teut. *þröu-* 'erschrecken, drohen'.[1] According to Whitman[2], source unknown. See further Cort. ibid.

wāsend 'gullet, throat' gl. rumen and ingluviæ. For records see BT. + Nap. gl. Cp. O. H. G. *weisont* (*-unt*), O. Frs. *wâsende*, E. *weasand* (< O. E. **wāsend*, which is not recorded as Fick, p. 180, seems to suppose), Teut. **waisundi*.[3]

wesend, weosend, 'bison'.[4]

swāsende, n., pl.*-u*, 'food, dinner; blandishments' : *swās* 'own, familiar (**swāsan?*); cp. *swāsend-dazas* beside *swāsing-dazas* 'ides'.

Nouns and verbs.

I have thought fit to give the above survey of non-agential or uncertain *end*-nouns, because the suffix in question is, otherwise, exclusively used for the formation of nom. ag., and words of another character are so extremely few, in comparison with the certain ag.-n. As far as possible, therefore, one is inclined to regard dubious *end*-nouns as originally nom. ag., and some of the words in preceding paragraph may be such, too.

But if, for the majority of *end*-formations, there is no difficulty at all in fixing their *agential* character, there is another difficulty peculiar to these very formations, and that is the difficulty that sometimes arises in fixing their nominal, or rather *substantival*, character; what is dubious about such "nom. ag." is not that they express an *agent*, but that they are *nouns*. In some cases, we are not at all entitled to speak of nom. ag., though the ptc. seems to be used more or less like a sb., and confusion can sometimes arise. These uses of the pr. ptc. are the following:

[1] Cortelyou, Ae. Namen d. Ins., p. 100.

[2] Anglia XXX 392.

[3] Cp. Hertzberg and Zacher, ZfdPh 10,383 ff., and Bugge, PBB 24,450.

[4] See Jordan p. 158, Palander p. 133, and also Wood, Germ. Phil. II 220, and Lidén, IF. 19,347.

a) as *appositive ptc.*,[1] e. g. hwilum *flitende* fealwe stræte mearum mæton B. 916, where *flitende* had better be regarded as app. ptc. to the subject implied in *mæton*, not as the subject itself. Dubious cases are not rare.

b) as *adjectival ptc.* with head-word omitted : beoð fulran on weaxendum monan þonne on *wanigendum* Byrhtf. 327[22].

c) as *temporal verb-forms : wyrcende* wæron (= worhton), also if inflected like a sb. (carelessly or dialectally) : *wyrcend* wæs Du. Ri. 10,(7) — L. operatus est.

In such ambiguous cases the chief guide for distinguishing the substantival forms from the adjectival and verbal ones is, of course, the flexion, and one might think that there could be no doubt as to the character of a form, as long as there are various forms for the different functions of *end(e)*-words. The flexion is, however, no absolutely decisive criterion. The substantival words, as is well known, have sometimes adopted adjectival flexion in certain cases, instead of, or as well as, their own, and then it will be seen that, in spite of the existence of separate forms for substantival and other *end*(*e*)-forms, the ptcc. are sometimes used substantivally with retained adjectival flexion. As the settling of this question, and of some others connected with the flexion of *end(e)*-forms, is of essential importance for the understanding of the ag.-n. in *-end*, and as there does not exist, as far as I know, any special investigation into the matter as regards O. E., except the general statements made by Sievers, in his Ags. Gr. § 286, I have felt obliged to devote a few pages to this subject, and, consequently, in an excursus, to treat of the flexion of the substantival pr. ptc., before going on to deal with these ptcc. as expressing the agent.

[1] See Morgan Callaway, Appos. Ptc. in Ags., Publications of MLAA. IX p. 141 ff.

Excursus.

On the Flexion of the Substantival Pr. Ptc.

Sievers's paradigm.

With the exception of *fēond* and *frēond* with cpp. and (*ȝōd*)-*dōnd*, which preserve fairly well their original flexion as cons. stems, the O. E. pr. ptc., when used substantivally, is inflected in the following way (cp. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 286):

	sing.	*plur.*
na.	æfterfylȝend	æfterfylȝend, -e, -as
g.	-es	-ra
d.	-e	-um[1]

Adjectival flexion thus prevails in gpl. and occurs alternatively in napl. Whether these are the only forms in which a ptc. can be used substantivally with its adjectival flexion will be seen below.[2]

The flexion of a ptc., consequently, is a criterion of its substantival character only in some cases, and it can be given as a subst., i. e. as an *end*-form (not *ende*-form), only if it is recorded in nsg, dsg, or asg, or in napl with the flexion of a cons.-stem or with the ending *-as*.[3]

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[1] The only word with all the given forms recorded. Sievers's paradigm is *hettend*, which is not recorded in gdsg, or in napl in the form with *-as*.

[2] In verbal and adjectival uses, the ptc. is inflected like a *ja*-, *jō*-st. (Sievers § 305).

[3] Exceptionally, however, the ptc. is found with the ending *-end*, even in verbal and adjectival use. Thus, for instance, sometimes when it is used predicatively (Wright, OEGr. § 441); exceptionally, too, when used as app. ptc., e. g., *þus cweðend*, Ags. Chron. A. D. 33, cp. the usual *þus cweðende;* for further details, see Callaway p. 150 f. Sometimes, however, it is most dubious whether a substantival or verbal (adjectival) function is intended. Is *willend* sb. or (exceptionally uninflected) verbal ptc. in *he wæs willend þære healican cumliþnesse*, Greg. 301[19] — L. hospitalitatis præcipue studens? I regard it rather as a verb.

Also, I must leave the state of things in the Northu. dialect out of consideration, as it is quite different from that of other dialects. For details, as regards Northu., I refer to Carpenter, Dekl. in d. Nordh. Ev.-übers. d. Lind. Hschr. §§ 532, 533, cp. §§ 25, 26, 193.

Inconsistency of dictionaries in entering end-nouns.

In treating of the ag.-n. in *-end*, I have often had occasion to indicate the inconsistency and arbitrariness that is prevalent in the dictionaries as regards the entry of a sb. in *-end* or not, and the form of the entered word. I quite ignore, then, such glossaries as do not at all observe the difference between *end*-form and *ende*-form, but always use the same one. But also in others, where that distinction is observed — and that is the case with most of the dictionaries and glossaries I have employed, especially, BT., Sw., Cl.H. and Gr.-K. — the inconsistencies to be found are very numerous. A few instances will illustrate what I mean:

**crēopend*, 'reptile', is *not entered* as a sb. *by any dictionary*. *Records:* eall flæsc - - -, manna and fuȝela, nytena and *creopendra* Genes. 7,21; ofer ealle ȝesceafta and ofer ealle *þa creopende* þe stirað on eorðan ib. 1,26.

**slincend*, 'reptile', is *entered* as a sb. m. n. by BT., sb. m. by Sw. *Records:* fram *þam slincendum* oð ða fuȝelas Genes. 6,7; ealle *slincendu* — L. omnia reptilia Lamb. Ps. 103,25;[1] *slincende* Spl. Ps. ib.,[1] Ar. Ps. 68,35.

**laȝuswimmend*, 'fish', is *entered* as a sb. by BT. and Sw., *not* by Cl.H. and Gr.-K.

**lyftflēoȝend*, 'bird', is *entered* by BT., Sw., and Cl.H., *not* by Gr.-K.

Records: him to mose sceall ȝeȝanȝan ȝeara ȝehwelce ȝrundbuendra, *lyftfleoȝendra*, *laȝuswemmendra*, ðria ðreoteno ðusendȝerimes Sal. 289.

**ȝalend*, 'enchanter', is *entered* by Sw. and Cl.H., *not* by BT. *Records:* *ȝalendra* in interlinear glosses gl. incantantium, e. g., Ps. gl. 57,6, which L. ptc. is in the context used substantivally. Cp., however, *ȝaldorȝalend*, a clear sb. As a rule, such ptcc. are not entered as sb. in the dictionaries, which principle must be regarded as correct. Any ptc., occurring only in glosses, (including interlinear glosses) and corresponding to a L. ptc. (in substantival use or not) will be left out of consideration.

**æfrœmmend* is *entered* as a sb., though with adjectival sense, (: legis præcepta conficiens, religiosus) by Gr.-K., *not* by BT., Sw., or Cl.H.

Record: Forðon ic leof weorud læran wille *æfremmende* þæt ȝe etc. J. 648.

Numbers of other examples could be given. It seems, therefore, to be quite necessary to try to avoid this confusion and

[1] According to BT.

to distinguish between the ptcc. that are really recorded as sb. and those that are not. In that connection, it will also be indispensable to settle whether substantival use of a ptc. is possible with retained adjectival flexion, and, if it is, to what extent. And, finally, the different plural forms of the nom. and acc. cases and the nature of the difference between them ought to be investigated.[1]

I combine these tasks in treating of each case separately. First, I shall investigate the forms of the nom. and acc. pl., and then I shall proceed to deal with the other cases, insofar as they show a flexion, in substantival use, that differs from the one given in the above paradigm.

[1] Some of the questions dealt with below, and some details there, would have had to be treated of in the treatise itself, if this excursus had not been made.

I. Nominative and Accusative Plural.

A. Substantival Flexion: No Ending, or -as(-ras).

1. Words without ending.

A. Poetry.[1]

Recorded cases of napl.

Cpp. ***æsc-berend***: nalas late wæron / eorre æscberend to þam orleȝe A. 47; eorre æscberend opene fundon A. 1076; weras cwanedon, / ealde æscberend; wæs him ut myne A. 1537.

ȝǣst ~ : Oft ic ȝæstberend / cwelle compwæpnum Rä. 21,9; þæt þas ȝæstberend ȝeman nellað Cr. III 1600; fela bið - - / ȝeonȝra ȝeofona þa þa ȝæstberend / weȝað in ȝewitte Cræ. 2.

ȝār ~ : hiredmenn - -, / ȝrame ȝarberend, and ȝod bædon By. 262.

helm ~ : ȝeȝrette þa ȝumena ȝehwylcne, / hwate helmberend hindeman siðe B. 2515; usic ȝarwiȝend ȝode tealde / hwate helmberend, þeah þe hlaford us B. 2642.

hearmcweðend: he þa hearmcweðend hyneð and byȝað Par. Ps. 71,5 (cp. L. sg : calumniatorem).

wiðerfeohtend: þæt ȝe - - / wearde healden þy læs eow wiðerfeohtend / weȝes forwyrnen to wuldres byriȝ Jul. 664.

rīdend: reote berofene : ridend swefað B. 2457.

scēotend; Sceotend swæfon / þa þæt hornreced healdan scoldon B. 703; sceotend Scyldinȝa to scipe feredon B. 1154; þonne ȝarȝetrum / ofer scildhreadan sceotend sendað Cr. II 675; fana hwearfode / scir on sceafte; sceotend þohton / Italia ealle ȝeȝonȝan Metr. 1,11; scildburh scæron; sceotend wæron / ȝuðe ȝeȝremede Jud. 305.

Cp. ***ymb-sittend***: þæt þec ymbsittend eȝsan þywad B. 1827.

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[1] The existing records are, in general, given in their metrical and syntactical context.

Cp. *frumsprecend*: þam þe frumsprecend folces wæron Par. Ps. 86,5.

wīȝend: ȝewiton him þa wiȝend wica neosian B. 1125; so also 1814; 3024; 3144; F. 11; 49; ȝelædde þa wiȝend weroda drihten Gen. 1411; Ex. 180;[1] 328;[1] A. 850; 1053; 1203; E. 106; stodon fæste / wiȝan on ȝewinne; wiȝend cruncon / wundum weriȝe By. 302; Jud. 69; 141; 313.

cp. *ȝār* ~ : þe be usic ȝarwiȝend ȝode tealde B. 2641.

āȝend: æhta and aȝend eall acwellon Gen. 1353.

bētend: brosnade burȝsteall. Betend crunȝon / herȝas to hrusan Ruin. 29.

eard(iȝ)end[2]: eorðe is ȝemolten and hire eardend mid Par. Ps. 74,3.

feorm(i)end: fætum befeallen; feormend swefað, / þa þe beadoȝriman bywan sceoldon B. 2256.

fērend: het þa ȝefetiȝan ferend snelle J. 60; þæt him þa ferend fæste wuniað Wal. 25.

oferhelmend: ic oferhylmend ealle ȝetealde Par. Ps. 118,119.

weriend: on fremdes fæðm: feollon weriend / bryda and beaȝa, bennum seoce Gen. 1971; wera wuldorȝestealdi. Weriȝend laȝon / on deaðsteðe, drihtfolca mæst Ex. 588.

b). Prose.

helpend: we sceoldon beon - - - wudewena helpend and steopcilda ariȝend and earmra retend and wependra frefriend Wulfst. 257[4].

ymbsittend: eode in to þam bysceope and hine ȝrette and þa ymbsittend —L. convivas Bd V 513 O, B, T (Ms. Ca ymbsittendan).

āriȝend: Wulfst. 257[4] (see *helpend*).

būend: erest weron buȝend þises landes Brittes Chron. 3[4] E.[3] Cp. napl. *buendo* Lind. Mk. 12,7; L. 20,14, 16; *londbuend* Mt. 21,34, 35; *londbuendo* Mt. 21,38; Mk. 12,9.

eardiȝend: þa eardiȝend þære ceastre Greg. 192[3].

frēfriend: Wulfst. 257[5] (see *helpend*).

ȝehīerend: þæt he ȝeseah þa his ȝehyrend þone Eastordæȝ onfon — L. suos auditores Bd V 3172.

rētend: Wulfst. 257[4] (see *helpend*).

timbriend: þæs huses timbriend wæron wyrcende Greg. 322[2].

[1] Graz, ESt. 21,3, reads, as Sievers before him, *wiȝan unforhte*.

[2] Occurs in glosses in the form *eardiȝende* once (see p. 96).

[3] B. T. corrects to *būȝendas*, which is quite uncalled for.

c) Glosses.[1]

berend: geruli berend Cl. gl. 414^{24}; 527^{25}.
ȝaldorȝalend: marsi ȝalderȝalend Cl. gl. 448^{22}.
ēwiscfirenend: publicani æwiscferinend Cl. gl. 480^{3}.

2. Words with ending -as (-ras).

a) Poetry.

byrȝend: blodíȝe laȝan, nahtan byrȝendas Par. Ps. 78,3.

b) Prose.

efenlǣcend: ænie efenlæcendras his mæȝena — L. imitatores suos in virtutibus Greg. 23^{1} H.
lufiȝend: þurhwunian æfre lufiȝendras Cart. Sax. I 155^{1}; wisdom ȝedeð his lufiȝendas wise and weorðe Boeth. 62^{27}; þas andweardan ȝood - - ne ȝedon hiora lufiendas swa weliȝe (swa swa) hie woldon 73^{20}; heo (= seo woruld) ne can aberan hire lufiȝendas Ælfc Hom. II 392_{9}.
rēafiȝend: biscopas and ealdormen, and þeode wealdendras, þæt ȝe syn Cristes cyrcan reafȝendras, ac þæt ȝe syn ȝeornfulle beweriendras Cristes aȝenre landare KCD 715 III 350_{12} (A. D. 1006).
reccend: heom ȝesette ȝewisse prafostas and reccendas Greg. 119^{21}.
beweriend: See above *rēafiȝend*.

c) Glosses.

āstīȝend: ascensores astiȝendas Reg. Hy. 4,4.
belīfend: superstites laua belifendreas beliuene Hpt. gl. $484a^{3}$ = superstites, i. vivi, lafa, beliuendras Nap. gl. 1,3313.
forhœbbende: celibes forhæbbendras Nap. gl. 1,1254 (cp. 1,1002).
lārhlystend: catacuminos, ȝecristnode, larhlystendras Nap. gl. 1,2881 = Hpt. gl. $473b_{2}$; cp. et competentes and ȝeleafhlystende Nap. gl. 7,202, where the L. ptc. (in the L. text) is used substantivally.
lufiȝend: am(at)ores lufiȝendras Scint. 14^{3}.

[1] Only such gloss-words as correspond to L. sb. are considered.

3. Words without ending or with ending -as (-ras.)

Without ending	With ending -as (-ras).
a) Poetry.	
wealdend : Woriað þa winsalo, waldend licȝað / dreame bidrorene Wand. 78; þæt hie wæron seolfe sweȝles bryttan, / wuldres wealdend. Him þæs wirs ȝelamp Sat. 24; [eorðȝrap hafað / waldendwyrhtan forweorene, forleorone Ruin. 7].	
ēhtend: þe min ehtend ealle syndon Par. Ps. 34,3 = Ben. Off. 67[17]; þe þu mine ehtend for me ealle ȝedeme 118,84; me syndon eahtend unȝemete neah aa 118,150 (r. ehtend).	þæt mycle mæȝen minra handa / heora ehtendas ealle fornam Par. Ps. 80,18; and his ehtendas ealle aflyme 88,20.
wierȝend: and mine werȝend wraðe ȝehyrde Par. Ps. 91,10.	
b) Prose.	
rōwend: þæt scip will stiȝan onȝean þone stream, ac hit ne mæȝ, buton þa rowend hit teon Past. 445[11].	þa rowendas þæs scipes — L. nautæ navis Greg. 306[3].
onsittend: þa onsittend þara horsa Greg. 15[10] O.	þa onsittendas þara horsa Greg. 15[10] H.[1]
wealdend	stiorlease men and recelease wæron ȝesælie and wealdendas þisse worulde Boeth. 13[21]; so also 32[11]; 35[30]; ne sint we nane wealdendas eowres ȝeleafan, ac hit fultemend eowres ȝefean Past. 115[24]; ne

[1] þa onsittendan þara horsa ib. ms. C.

sint we nane wealdendas þisses folces 119[24]; þioda cyninʒas bioð þæs folces wealdendas 121[3]; þeode wealdendras (see *reafiʒend* p. 88) KCD 715 (A. D. 1006) III 350$_{12}$.

ēhtend: he bebead his aldormonnum þæt hie wæron cristenra manna ehtend Or. 264[27].

fultumiend: Past. 115[25] (see above *wealdend* p. 89); þæt hie beoð ðonne fultemend to hiera wædle Past. 377[3].

ʒod wolde, þæt his ʒeonʒran eac wæron his dæde fultumiendas — L. adjutores Greg. 243[13].

wierʒend

ne ʒytseras, ne drinceras ... ne wyrʒendras, þæra muð bið symle mid ʒeættrode wyriʒunʒe afylled L. S. XVII 42.

wrēʒend: eallra heora dome wæs cyðed, þæt his wreʒend and his ʒesacan .... wið hine syredon and onsæʒdon — L. accusatores eius Bd V 2723.

c) **Glosses.**[1]

wealdend:

(ubi) imperatores (hwar) wealdendras Scint. 215[9]; presides wealdendas Germ. 394 b, 327.

onhyrʒend: emulatores onhyrʒend Cl. gl. 395[26].

emulatores onhyrʒendras Cl. gl. 508[23].

wrēʒend

accusatores wreʒendras Scint. 29[4].

hælsend: extipices hælsent Co. E 484.

extipices, aruspices, hælsendas Cl. gl. 393[14].

[1] Note also the occasional occurence of *dras* in Aldh. gl., e. g. insultatores, i. illusores *dras*: Hpt gl 507 b[3] = Nap. gl. 1,4328; Hpt gl 424 b[20]; 452 b[12]; 506a$_{7,5}$ in which cases *end*-nouns are evidently meant. With reference to these words, see p. 100.

B. Substantival or Adjectival Flexion: No Ending or -(r)as, and -e.

1. Words without ending or with ending -e.

Occurring only in poetry.

Without ending	With ending -e.
reordberend: syðdan reordberend reste wunedon Cross 3; Dan. A. 123; rece þa ȝerynu, hu he reordberend / lærde A. 419; hu þec mid ryhte ealle reordberend / hatað and secȝað hæleð Cr. I 278.	þa mid ryhte sculon reordberende / earme eorðware - - - / herȝan Cr. I 381; hatað arisan reordberende Cr. III 1025.
sæliðend: secȝað sæliðend þæt þes sele stande B. 411; nu we sæliðend secȝan wyllað 1818; þæt hit sæliðend syðdan hatan 2806.	þonne sæȝdon þæt sæliðende B. 377; se micla hwæl / se ðe bisenceð sæliðende Walf. 48.
selerædend: manigе comon/snottre selerædend : symble ȝefeȝon A. 659.	selerædende secȝan hyrde B. 1346.
byrnwigend: ne he byrnwigend to þam burȝȝeatum / lædan ne wolde Hö. 38.	ealle his weaȝesiðas, / bealde byrnwiȝȝende. Jud. 17[1].
eorðbūend: þa nu æðelinȝas, / ealle eorðbuend Ebrei hatað Gen. 1648; þonne hit eorðbuend ealle cuðan Cr. I 422; woruld alyseð / ealle eorðbuend þurh þone æðelan styll Cr. II 719; so also Cr. III 1279; Par. Ps. 65,1,7; 101,13; 118,4: *ealle eorðbuend* forming the	men ȝefremeden / eorðbuende, siðdan Adam wearð Gen. 1000; þurh þe eorðbuende ealle onfoð 1759[2]; eorðbuende ealle hatað 2617; men - - ne ȝeseon meahton / eorðbuende ealle cræfte Ex. 84; þa ytmestan eorðbuende Metr. 10,25; þætte ealle witen eorðbuende 19,13;

[1] "*de* in *viȝȝende* obenher beschädigt" (Gr. W. note).

[2] The emendation of *eorðbuende* into *eorðbuend*, Gen. 1759, made by Jovy, Untersuchungen zur ae. Genesisdichtung, p. 30, because "wie *feond*, *freond*, *hettend* der npl. von *buend* keine endung haben darf"(!), is consequently, mere nonsense. There are 10 *e*-forms and 7 forms without *-e*.

first half-verse in all these passages.

ana ofer ealle eorðbuȝende Geb. III 8; and eorðbuende ealle healdest Par. Ps. 66,4; ofer ealle heah / eorðbuende, ece drihten 82,14; ofer ȝeleaffulle eorðbuende 100,6.

feorrbūend: furður feran. Nu ȝe feorrbuend, / mereliðende B. 254.

ðone fuȝol hatað feorbuende Sal. 279.

foldbūend: fyre befanȝen: hyne foldbuend / wide ȝesawon B. 2274; deað ricsade / ofer foldbuend, þeah þe fela wære Gu. 844; findað foldbuend, swa him fæȝere oft Par. Ps. 64,10.

þone - - Grendel nemdon / foldbuende: no hie fæder cunnon B. 1355; þara þe ȝefruȝnon foldbuende E 1013; ðonne mid fere foldbuende / se micla dæȝ - - bihlæmeð Cr. III 868; þæt asecȝan ne maȝon / foldbuende þurh frod ȝewit Cr. III 1178; ne mostan þe ȝeondferan foldbuende Hö. 101; nales þu ȝeondflowan (mostes) foldbuende Hö. 105; ðæt eorðwaran ealle hæfden / foldbuende fruman ȝelicne Metr. 17,2.

īeȝbūend: eac hie ieȝbuend oðre worde Edə. 4.

swa hine wide ciȝað / ieȝbuende, Enȝla and Seaxe Men. 185.

londbūend: ic þæt londbuend, leode mine, / selerædende secȝan hyrde B. 1345.

loca nu ful wide ofer londbuende Sat. 684; hæleð wæron yrre / londbuende laðum cynne Jud. 226.

sundbūend: þæs þe æfre sundbuend secȝan hyrdon Cr. I 73.

ne hine ȝesawon sundbuende Metr. 8,13; ðone Saturnus sundbuende / hatað 24,21; Saturnus þone sundbuende / heton hæleða bearn 26,48.

hettend: him on healfa ȝehwam hettend seomedon Ex. 209; from hleowstole. Hettend lædon / ut - - Abrahames mæȝ Gen. 2011; ȝaras - - / hetend heoruȝrimme, hildenædran /

swa þec hettende hwilum dædon B. 1828 (Ms. *hettend*, but for metrical reasons altered to hettende; cp. p. 108); in hearmra hond, þær him hettende / earme aȝlæcan oft ȝescodan Ph. 441.

- - forð onsendan E. 119; hie - - / hettend heorozrimme, heafodzimme/azeton zealzmode A. 31; hord and hamas. Hettend crunzon Æðelst. 10.

wyrcend: ealle ic feode facnes wyrcend Par. Ps. 100,3.

synwyrcend: swearte synwyrcend sorzum wlitað Cr. III 1105 syndon unrihtes ealle wyrcende Par. Ps. 70,3.

ze ne woldon þa/synwyrcende soð oncnawan E. 395; þæt me ne beswice syndwyrcende, þa þe unrihtes æzhwær ðenceað Par. Ps. 140,11.

2. Words with ending -(r)as or with ending -e.

Only in **prose**, in the word **dælnimend**.

With ending -ras: consortes, i. participes, dælnimendras Nap. gl. 1,1902.

With ending -e: hi mihton beon dælnimende ðæs heofonlican wuldres Greg. 232[8]; þa þe hi ne mihton zedon dælnimende heora zedwolan 233[10]; he us zedyde dælnimende þæs heofonlican rices Blickl. Hom. 11[2]; hie syn dælnimende þinra zeofena 191[25]; ealle participia þæt synd ealle dælnymende Ælfc gr. 61[11]; so also 112[1]; 136[5]; 152[8]; Scint. 5$_5$; þæt we ne beon dælnimende þurh his mildheortnysse Sermo Mar. 171.

3. Words with all the forms in napl.

Only in **prose**, in the word **æfterfylzend**.

Without ending: his æfterfylzend byscopas Bd IV 2042; halsizað usse æfterfylzend, ðæt heora nænig Cart. Sax. I 199[12] (A. D. 889); alle ure æfterfylzend II 313[18] (A. D. 922)

With ending -as: Alexandres æfterfylzendas Or. 142[11]; cyninzum - - heora æfterfylizendas Bd II 537.

With ending -e: þa forman æfterfylizende Eadwines cyninzes — L. successores Aedwini Bd III 1 O (Ms. B: þa forman æfterfylizende Eadwine cyninze).

C. Adjectival Flexion : Ending -e.

a) Poetry.

sweordberende : þara þe æðelinȝas, / sweordberende settan heton Gen. 1060.

ealodrincende : ealodrincende oðer sædon B. 1945.

daroðlācende : þæt on ælfylce / dearoðlacende, on Danubie stærced-fyrhðe stæðe wicedon E. 37; beornðreat moniȝ / farað - - - / eoredcystum ofestum ȝefysde dareðlacende Pa. 53.

faroð ~ : ȝewiciað weriȝferðe / faroðlacende, frecnes ne wenað Walf. 20.

lyft ~ : hwalas þec herȝað and hefonfuȝelas / lyftlacende! Dan. 388.

liðend : þæt þa liðende land ȝesawon B. 221.

brim ~ : ymb brontne ford brimliðende / lade ne letton B. 568.

heaðo ~ : swylce heaðoliðende habban scoldon B. 1798.

mere ~ : nu ȝe feorbuend / mereliðende minne ȝehyrað B. 255; þa ȝemunde ȝod mereliðende Gen. 1407.

wæȝ ~ : hæleð lanȝode, / wæȝliðende swilce wif heora Gen. 1432; swa þæt wenað wæȝliðende Walf. 11.

bencsittende : manode ȝeneahhe / bencsittende, þæt hi ȝebærdon wel Jud. 27.

burh ~ : folca bearn, / - - -, / burhsittende brucan wide Gen. 1089; bearn be bryde þinre, þone sculon burhsittende / ealle Isaac hatan 2326; þæt weras hatað, / burhsittende Bersabea lond 2838; brædon bebodo burhsittende Dan. B. 299 = Az. 19 (Ms. -u); þæs biddað burhsittende Cr. I 337; þæt his ȝebidan ne maȝon burhsittende Metr. 27,17; þa wurdon bliðe burhsittende Jud. 159.

flet ~ : þa ic Freaware fletsittende / nemnan hyrde B. 2022.

lindwiȝende : sceotend þohton / - - -, / lindwiȝende : hi ȝelæston swa Metr. 1,13; lindwiȝende lædan onȝunnon Jud. 42.

rond ~ : hie þæt fæȝe þeȝon, / rofe rondwiȝȝende, þeah þæs se rica ne wende Jud. 20; hie þæt - - / ræfndon rondwiȝȝende, comon to þam rican þeodne Jud. 11.

blǣdāȝende : buȝon þa to bence blædaȝende, / fylle ȝefeȝon B. 1013.

folc ~ : þæt hi bælwudu / feorran feredon, folcaȝende, / ȝodum toȝenes B. 3113.[1]

woruldbūende : ne furðum wundne wer weoruldbuende / ȝesawan Metr. 8,35.

[1] According to Bugge, PBB XII 109, *dsg.* (of Beowulf).

weȝfērende: hine þa towurpon weȝferende Par. Ps. 88,34.

wid ~ : ne maȝon þær ȝewunian widferende A. 279; on þam wuniað widferende Az. 130.

æfremmende: ic leof weorud læran wille, / æfremmende, þæt ȝe eower hus J. 648 [1].

heaðo ~ : fluȝon instæpes / huna leode, - -, / heaðofremmende. E. 130.

riht ~ : þus reordiað ryhtfremmende Ph. 632.

bordhæbbende: þæt eorlweorod / morȝenlonȝne dæȝ modȝiomor sæt / bordhæbbende, beȝa on wenum B. 2895.[2]

lind ~ : no her cuðlicor cuman onȝunnon / lindwiȝende. ne ȝe leafnesword B. 245.

searo ~ : slæpe tobruȝdon / searohæbbende; sund ȝrunde onfenȝ A. 1528.

eald-hettende: eðelweardas, ealdhettende Jud. 321.

mæðelhēȝende: beornas coman / wiȝȝendra þreat wicȝum ȝenȝan / on mearum modiȝe mæðelheȝende / æscum dealle A. 1096; þær bisceopas and boceras / and ealdormenn æht besæton / meðelheȝende A. 609.[3]

ȝramhycȝende: and æbyliȝnes eac yrres þines / hi forȝripe ȝramhicȝende Par. Ps. 68,25 [4].

nīð ~ : swa him mid neȝlum þurhdrifon niðhycȝende / þa hwitan honda Cr. III 1110; Assiria oretmecȝas, / niðhycȝende, nanne ne sparedon Jud. 233.

wiðer ~ wendan and woldon wiðerhycȝnde / þæt hie A. 1072.

rædþeahtende: ne mæȝ æfre ofer þæt Ebrea þeod / rædþeahtende rice healdan E. 449 [5]; sanȝ ahofon / rædþeahtende ymb þa roda þreo E. 868.

firenwyrcende: forðon ic fæstlice firenwyrcende / oft elnade Par. Ps. 72,2.

[1] By Callaway, p. 245, regarded as app. ptc., nsg. neut.

[2] Might possibly be regarded as app. ptc. This is not, however, Callaway's view. Most likely to be npl, as compared with B. 3030 f.; cp. Gr.-K., who regards it as *nsg.*

[3] In the last passage, it may be better to regard it as app. ptc. This is not done, however, by Callaway.

[4] By Callaway, p. 253, regarded as app. ptc.

[5] By Callaway, p. 243, regarded as app. ptc. nsg. fem.

b) **Prose.**

crēopende : ofer ealle ȝesceafta and ofer ealle þa creopende, þe stirað on eorðan — L. omnique reptili Genes. 1,26.

sciplīðende : þa sciplīðende - - mearcedon Mart. 84[18];[1] betwux sciplīðende L. S. XXXIII 188.

weȝfērende : se rica and se þearfa sind weȝferende on ðisre worulde Ælfc Hom. I 254$_7$; ða weȝferende hit fortrædan II 90[6]; se þe æniȝ þissa do, ȝilde wite - -; buton weȝferende, þa moton for neode meteneade ferian Northu. 56.

speliend : ne synd na ma naman speliende (= pronouns) Ælfc gr. 94[2].

c) **Glosses.**

We find here a great number of ptcc. corresponding to L. ptcc. which are used substantivally, but they do not, of course, prove anything. Nor are ptcc. corresponding to L. sb. nom. ag. of any great value as evidence, if they are of any at all; cp. what is said p. 112 note. Besides, I have only noted a single instance (though there may be more), and that word would certainly have another form, if occurring in a text, as a parallel formation of it has, indeed. The word in question is:

ūpstīȝend : ascensores upstiȝende VPs 5,6; Eadw. Hy. 4,4. Cp. astiȝendas Reg. Hy. 4,4.

Cp. also habitatores *eardiȝende* Ar. Hy., but *eardiȝend* in prose (Greg.) and poetry (Par. Ps.), see above, p. 87.

Difference between poetry and prose.

The preceding survey of the records of pl.-forms of *end*-nouns immediately shows one thing: the great difference between poetry and prose in this respect. The preponderance of poetical records for *e*-forms and of prose-records for the forms in *-as* is salient, is, indeed, too marked to allow of being explained away as fortuitous.

See, for example, the ending *-(r)as*. We find only two such words belonging to poetry, though the total number of poetical records of pl.-forms of *end*-nouns is much larger than that of prose records, as a glance at the material given will easily show. And, of the two words occurring in poetry with this ending, viz. *byrȝend* and *ēhtend*, the last is an ordinary prose-word — though it happens not to be recorded in prose with this pl.-form — and the other

[1] Cp. same p., line 10: sum westensetla sæȝde *sciplīðendum monnum*, and then 84[13]: cwæð se ȝodes þeow to *þæm sciplīðendum*.

is not an *end*-noun of the specifically poetic type either, as will be seen later on, and both occur in the late Par. Ps. In the bulk of O. E. epic poetry, there is not a single instance of this ending.

Perhaps the question then arises, however, whether this should necessarily be ascribed to stylistic, rather than to chronological, reasons. To me it seems to be a question *chiefly* of *style*. Note, e. g., how consistently such a word as *wealdend* appears in the pl.-form *wealdend(r)as*, in the prose-records, even as early as Ælfred, and in the form *wealdend*, in poetry. Note, too, *wierȝendas* in prose, but *wierȝend* in poetry (Par. Ps.), though *wierȝendas*, in the passage on record, would have given a better verse from a metrical point of view. And while *-as* is to be found in prose during the whole O. E. period, it occurs no oftener in the late O. E. poems — except for the two isolated cases in Par. Ps. — than in the early ones.[1]

Flexion in prose.

In the following pages, therefore, I distinguish between the flexion in poetry and in prose, beginning with the latter as characteristic of the ordinary O. E. language. The chronological table below (pp. 98, 99) will then show the distribution of the different plural endings in O. E. prose.

Ending- as.

Now, it is true that the age of many of the O. E. prose texts is not quite certain — and differences between the Mss. and the original texts are, of course, possible — but, on the whole, the table will give a fairly accurate notion of the chronological facts to be borne in mind. It will then be seen that the pl.-ending *-as* of the *a*-stems had already been adopted by the time of Ælfred, probably even earlier (though there are no earlier records to prove it), since it is so common in his works (or those of his literary circle) as to show the greatest number of records of the different pl.-endings. It was felt necessary to distinguish between the pl. and sg. forms, and as the *end*-nouns in question possessed exactly

[1] To avoid any misunderstanding, I had perhaps better explain my meaning a little. The difference — appearing in O. E. chiefly as a stylistic one — is, as a matter of fact, *originally* a chronological one. The form without ending is the older of the two, the ending *-as* was felt to be a new-comer, a more careless form; the former way of expressing the plural was thus felt to be more dignified and suited to poetical purposes. — As regards the oldest epic poetry, it may also be remembered that the ending *-as* is not recorded so early, even in prose, though it probably existed. Cp. the table given below.

Chronological table of napl.-forms of end-nouns in prose.

	No ending.	Number of words	Number of records	*Ending -e.*[2]	Words	Records	*Ending -(r)as*	Words	Records
Co. gl.	hælsent	1	1						
Ags. Chron.	būend	1	1						
Mart.				sciplīðende	1	1			
Greg.	onsittend 0, eardiend timbrend	3	3	dælnimende	1	2	onsittendas H, rōwendas, fultumiendas, efenlæcendras, reccendas	5	5
Boeth.							wealdendas 3, lufiendas 2	2	5
Or.	ēhtend	1	1				æfterfylȝendas	1	1
Past.	rōwend, fultumiend 2	2	3				wealdendas	1	3
Bd	ymbsittend, æfterfylȝend, ȝehīerend, wrēȝend	4	4	æfterfylȝende 0	1	1	æfterfylȝendas	1	1
Reg. Ps.							āstīȝendas	1	1
BCS. a. 922	æfterfylȝend	1	2				lufiendras	1	1
Blickl. Hom.				dælnimende	1	2			
Ælfc Hom., L.S.				eorðbūende 2, weȝfērende 2, sciplīðende	3	5	lufiendas, wierȝendras	2	2
Ælfc gr.				dælnimende 4, speliende	2	5			
Genes.				crēopende	1	1			
KCD A.D. 1006							wealdendras, reafȝendras, beweriendras	3	3

Wulfst.	helpend, āriend, frēfriend rētend	4	4							
Northu.				weȝfērende	1	1				
Cl. gl.	berend 2, ȝalderȝalend, æwiscfireniend, onhyrȝend	4	5				hælsendas, onhyrȝendras	2	2	
Hpt. gl.							lārhlestendras, belīfendras, -dras	7?	7	
Nap. gl.							belīfendras, forhæbbendras, dælnimendras, lārhlystendras, -dras	6	6	
Germ.							wealdendas	1	1	
Scint.				dælnimende	1	1	lufiȝendras, wealdendras, wrēȝendras	3	3	
Sermo Mar.				dælnimende	1	1				
Total		20	24		7	20		19 +5?	41	

[1] Besides the 20 records given in the table, three other records quoted above (p. 96) are also to be noted, viz., VPs., Eadw. Ps. *ūpstiȝende*; Ar. Hy. *eardiȝende*.

the character of masc. sb., the usual pl.-ending for such nouns was introduced, the inducing morphems, perhaps, being chiefly the synonymous formations with the suff. *-ere*, pl. *-eras*.

By-form -ras. Influence from these words, also, is probably present in the transformation of the ending *-as* into *-ras*, which takes place very early: we find this form as early as *Ælfred*, though only once, viz., in *efenlœcendras;* and in BCS, (A. D. 701) also once, viz., in *lufiȝendras*. As regards its origin, this *r* certainly is to be regarded, as by Sievers[1], as an *intrusive r*, taken over from the gpl, but the existence of the nom. ag. in *-ere* (*-eras*) may have facilitated the process. And then, when, after occasionally occurring in *Ælfc* (in *wierȝendras* beside *lufiȝendas*, though earlier *lufiȝendras*), and in *Cl. gl. III* (in *onhyrȝendras*[2], cp. *onhyrȝend* Cl. gl. II), the form *-ras* becomes the only one in the *later charters* (KCD A.D. 1006), in *Scint.*, *Hpt.* and *Nap. gl.*, where *-dras* is often used to indicate the pl. of an *end*-noun, the rest of which is left out, as being clear to the reader — when, consequently, the form *-ras appears as the only pl.-ending for the substantival end-formations at the close of the O.E. period*[3], I cannot account for that development in any other way than by assuming additional influence from those other agential formations. In the said late O. E. works, the intrusive *r* has also passed into the *dpl.* of *end*-nouns in a few cases: *herȝendrum* Scint. 205_6; *fylȝendrum* 100_6; *scēawiȝendrum* Nap. gl. 4,58; 7,250; *forsāwendrum* 1,5438.[4]

Flexion as cons.-st. The flexion that has thus been supplanted is the original flexion of *end*-sb., i. e., that of cons.-stems: it is one of the many cases where words belonging to other declensions are absorbed by the *a*-stems. This original form, without an ending, is, as is to be expected, preserved in records older than the other pl.-forms, viz., *Co.* and *Ags. Chron.* (and poetry), though the scarcity of recorded

[1] Ags. Gr. § 286 anm. 2; PBB IX 253. Cp. also Nap. gl. 1,1254, note.

[2] In a passage, the source of which is Aldhelm, De laude virginitatis; see Sievers, Anglia XIII, p. 321.

[3] As for *-e* in dælnimende, see p. 101 f.

[4] Rhodes is not quite right when maintaining, in the preface of his edition of Scint. p. XV, that "an intrusive *r* is sometimes found in the nadpl of pr. ptc. and of nouns in *-end* formed from pr. ptc." I have never found an intrusive *r* in the pr. ptc. in Scint., and only once in other works, viz., Nap. gl. 1,1758: librantis, i. pensantis *weȝendres* (substantival?), otherwise *only* in *nouns*; as regards Scint., it is used, in the case of nouns, as the only form in the napl., and alternatively in the dpl.

pl.-forms in the earliest prose-texts makes it uncertain whether it was the only existing form. It is still very common in *Ælfred*, and occurs twice in one word, *æfterfylȝend in BCS*, A.D. *889* and *922*, but after that time it does not appear until *Wulfstan*, where it occurs four times in one single passage, and where the parallelism between the words (see instance given above, p. 87 *helpend*) may have contributed to its use. Then we find it in the glossators of the so - called *Cl. gl.* — Cl. II: berend[1], ȝalderȝalend[2], onhyrȝend[3]; Cl. III: berend[4], æwiscfreniend[5] —, but the chronology of the forms is here very uncertain; moreover, we cannot always be quite sure, when an uninflected *end*-noun is concerned, that the glossator has really intended to give also the number of the lemma. At any rate, it will be seen that this flexion is *never* used by *Ælfric*, and that it does not occur in the latest O. E. works.

The adjectival *ending -e*, finally, occurs sporadically during the whole of the O. E. period, but it is particularly characteristic of Ælfric's language.

Ending -e.

If, however, *chronological* considerations regulate, to a certain degree at least, the distribution of forms *without ending* and forms in *-as* and *-ras* respectively, the same cannot be said as to the occurrence of the *adjectival* pl.-forms. By the side of the chronological factor, there is evidently another, rather of a *semological* kind, as a result of which certain words seem always to have had one and the same form, viz., the form with the ending *-e*. For while the words without ending are, to a great extent at least, the same as the words with ending *-(r)as*, there are only two words in the group with plural *-e* that occur inflected in other ways, and that in spite of the fact that most of the words of this group occur at different dates. Considering each of the seven words separately, we find *dælnimende* always occurs in this pl.-form from Ælfred down to Sermo Mar., except once — Nap. gl. (pl.-*dras*). The adjectival form is quite natural, since the word, along with its L. equivalent, *particeps*, may be regarded as originally an adj. and,

[1] Source: Cl. III, see 4), with which it is thus identical (Sievers, Anglia XIII 322).

[2] Source?

[3] Source: Cl. I, where, however, this particular word does not occur.

[4] Source: Aldh., De laud. virginum (Sievers, ibid., p. 321). Cp. 1.

[5] Source: New Testament (Sievers, ibid., p. 321).

of course, owes its flexion to its chiefly adjectival nature. The word, however, should not, for that reason, have been omitted in this survey, since it is to be observed, first, that its sg.-form is nearly always substantival (*dælnimend*), and secondly, that, in Ælfc gr., it is a clear sb, meaning participium, pl. participia, with the constant forms sg. *dælnimend*, pl. *dælnimende*. The other grammatical term in *-end* occurring in Ælfc., viz., *speliend* 'pronoun', is inflected in the same way, which must be regarded as being due to influence from *dælnimend*. *sciplīðende* and *weȝfērende* always occur with this pl.-form, certainly because their substantival use arose out of the adjectival use: *sciplīðende menn, weȝferende menn*, both common in O. E., cp. p. *96* note *1*); cp. also *se weȝferenda man* Ælfc Hom I 164[7]; 248[15] and other places[1]. The context of the first record of *sciplīðende*, quoted in the said note (p. 96), places it, indeed, beyond any doubt that the substantival use of the word has there arisen in such manner. And as an adjectival ptc. used substantivally we must certainly also regard *crēopende*, cp. such translations of L. reptilia as *þa creopendan wuhta; þa creopendan and þa scnicendan* (scil. *wuhta*) Past. 155[17]. *Eorðbūende* will be best accounted for as being, in most cases, a poetical word and retaining, in Ælfric, its commonest poetical form; cp. also the great number of other *būend*-cpp. in O. E. poetry, see p. 139 f.

The nouns discussed are thus of a more adjectival nature than the other *end*-nouns occurring in prose, or are influenced by words of that kind *(speliend)*, or are taken over in their poetical form *(eorðbuende)*: the majority of them are simply adj. used substantivally; for the one possible exception, *æfterfylȝend*, see below. It is noteworthy, however, that the sg. form of these words, as far as it is recorded, is generally substantival, also as regards its form; such is the case with *dælnimend, speliend, weȝfērend*. And it is also noteworthy that nearly all the forms belong to Ælfric; indeed, six of the seven words are recorded in Ælfrician texts.[2] For my

[1] As regards *sciplīðende*, I should imagine that the adjectival form also had a support in the L. original, which probably has the pr. ptc. *navigantes* (-ibus), common in L. in substantival use, and occurring, e. g., Bd V 947: þa þe *scypliðendum* nydþearflicu ȝesewen wæron, L. quæ *navigantibus* esse necessaria videbantur. For the instances on record, however, I have not had an opportunity of verifying my supposition.

[1] *Dælnimende* in non-Ælfrician texts, provides, of course, no evidence, since there is no means of knowing whether it is meant as an adj. or a sb.

part, I am of opinion that the formation of the pl. of the *end*-nouns by means of *-e* is *not*, strictly speaking, natural O. E. *prose*; it is a grammatical resource of poetry, exceptionally turned to use also in prose. Otherwise, we should certainly meet with it oftener, and we should most likely find some cases of it in Ælfred, the chief O. E. prose-writer. The only instance from his works, viz., *æfterfylȝende*, occurs in this form only once[1], and then only in one Ms., whereas another has the same form, it is true, but with verbal construction (a following accusative), so that this form cannot be quite relied upon as evidence. Again, no O. E. writer uses adjectival ptcc. substantivally to such an extent as Ælfred, but then they always occur with weak adjectival flexion. Note, e. g., his *þa crēopendan*, quoted above, *se weȝfērenda* — L. conviator Greg. 128[15], *þa æfterfylȝendan* Greg. 98[1]C, and others[2]. In Ælfric, on the other hand, *-e* is the usual pl.-ending of substantival *end*-nouns. Only *·lufiend* is also used by him in its traditional pl.-form with *-as*, and *wierȝend* has obtained the form *wyrȝendras* immediately following *drincras*, *ȝytseras*, and other nouns in *-ras*, but those are Ælfric's only cases showing a different plural-ending from *-e*. From a desire to distinguish between the sg. and pl., Ælfric, when there was no special reason why he should use another ending, appropriated the form well-known to him from poetry, his own language being, as is well known, half prose, half poetry.

Flexion in poetry.

We will now turn our attention to the poetical records. It has already been stated that one of the endings, viz., *-as*, does not occur in poetry, except in two words in the Par. Ps, so it can here be left altogether out of consideration. The numerous poetical *end*-nouns form their plurals, as was seen above (p. 86 ff.) in the following way:

Statistics.

A. *as cons.-st.* (Group A).
B. *as cons.-st. or with ending -e* (Group B).
C. *with the adjectival ending -e* (Group C).

Group A. contains 22 words (representing 18 formations[3]) occurring altogether 52 times. Of these words, 7 (= 3 formations) represent cp.-groups, 4 are isolated cpp., and 11 are simple words not belonging to cp.-groups.

[1] See pp. 86 ff., 89.

[2] Cp. below, semology of *end*-nouns.

[3] *æsc-*, *ȝæst- ȝār-*, and *helm-berend* are reckoned as *four words*, but *one formation*.

Group B. shows 13 words (= 7 formations), with 31 (A.) and 35 (C.) records respectively, all representing cp.-groups.[1]

Group C. finally, has the great number of 33 words (representing 16 formations), with 49 records, the substantival character of all of which, however, is not quite certain. All are cpp., with the exception of *līðend*, which belongs to a cp.-group, 2 of them, both doubtful, are isolated cpp.

Chronological table of napl.-forms of end-nouns in O. E. poetry.[2]

	No ending.	Words	Records	*Ending -e.*	Words	Records
B.	helmberend 2, rīdend 1, scēotend 2, ymbsittend 1, wīġend 4, ġār ~ 1, feormiend 1, sælīðend 3, feorrbūend 1, foldbūend 1, londbuend 1.	11	18	sæliðende 1, selerædende 1, foldbūende 1, hettende 1, ealodrincende 1, līðende 1, brim ~ 1, heaðo ~ 1, mere ~ 1, flet ~ 1, blædāġende 1, folc ~ 1, bordhæbbende 1, lind ~ 1.	14	14
F.	wīġend 2.	1	2		—	—
Gen.	wīġend 1, āġend 1, weriend 1, eorðbūend 1, hettend 1.	5	5	eorðbūende 3, sweordberende 1, merelīðende 1, wæġlīðende 1, burhsittende 3.	5	9
Dan. A.	reordberend 1.	1	1		—	—
Ex.	wīġend 2, weriend 1, hettend 1	3	4	eorðbūende 1.	1	1
Rä.	ġæstberend.	1	1		—	—
Wand.	wealdend 1.	1	1		—	—
Cross.	reordberend 1.	1	1		—	—
Cræ.	ġæstberend 1.	1	1		—	—
Guþl. B.	foldbūend 1.	1	1		—	—
Dan. B.		—	—	lyftlācende 1, burhsittende 1.	2	2
Az.		—	—	burhsittende 1, wīdfērende 1.	2	2

[1] *hettend* and *wyrcend* are, perhaps, rather simplicia, since the cpp. with them are not so many that they can be said to form a group.

[2] It is scarcely necessary to point out that the order of the works, as regards chronology, is a most uncertain matter, and the above arrangement may seem rather arbitrary. For questions concerning chronology, see the usual histories of O. E. literature, especially Brandl; cp. also Sarrazin, Von Kädmon bis Kynewulf (1913).

	No ending.	Words	Records	*Ending -e.*	Words	Records
Cr. I	reordberend 1, eorðbūend 1, sundbūend 1.	3	3	reordberende 1, burhsittende 1.	2	2
Cr. II	scēotend 1, eorðbūend 1.	2	2		—	—
J.	wiðerfeohtend 1, fērend 1.	2	2	æfremmende 1.	1	1
A.	æscberend 3, wīȝend 3, reordberend 1, selerædend 1, hettend 1.	5	9	wiðerhycȝende 1, wīdfērende 1, searohæbbende 1, mæðelhēȝende 2.	4	5
E.	wīȝend 1, hettend 1.	2	2	foldbūende 1, synwyrcende 1, daroðlācende 1, heaðofremmende 1, rædðeahtende 2.	5	6
Cr. III	ȝæstberend 1, eorðbūend 1, synwyrcend 1.	3	3	reordberende 1, foldbūende 2, niðhycȝende 1.	3	4
Hö.	byrnwīȝend 1.	1	1	foldbūende 2.	1	2
Sat.	wealdend 1.	1	1	londbūende 1.	1	1
Ph.		—	—	hettende 1, rihtfremmende 1.	2	2
Walf.	fērend 1.	1	1	sælīðende 1, faroðlācende 1, wæȝlīðende 1.	3	3
Pa.		—	—	daroðlācende 1.	1	1
Metr.	scēotend 1.	1	1	eorðbūende 2, foldbūende 1, sundbūende 3, burhsittende 1, lindwīȝende 1, woruldbūende 1.	6	9
Geb.		—	—	eorðbūende 1.	1	1
Ruine	bētend 1.	1	1		—	—
By.	ȝārberend 1, wīȝend 1.	2	2		—	—
Ags. Chron	īeȝbūend 1.	1	1		—	—
Æðelst.	hettend 1.	1	1		—	—
Jud.	scēotend 1, wīȝend 3.	2	4	byrnwiȝȝende 1, nīðhycȝende 1, londbūende 1, bencsittende 1, burhsittende 1, lindwīȝende 1, rondwīȝende 2, ealdhettende 1	8	9
Par. Ps.	hearmcweðend 1, frumsprecend 1, eardiȝend 1, oferhylmend 1, ēhtend 3, wierȝend 1, eorðbūend 4, foldbūend 1, wyrcend 1.	9	14	eorðbūende 3, wyrcende 1, synnwe 1, weȝfērende 1, ȝramhycȝende 1, firenwyrcende 1	6	8
Sal.		—	—	feorbūende 1	1	1
Men.		—		īeȝbūende 1	1	1
Total		35	83		46	84

Not chronological differences. An investigation into the pl.-forms of our words, when undertaken from the point of view of chronology and restricted to poetical records, can scarcely aim at anything more than comparing the conditions in early (pre-Ælfredian) and late O. E.; otherwise, only differences in different texts (sometimes authors) can be indicated (cp. note, p. 104). In this case, however, such an investigation gives entirely negative results : the distribution of forms *without ending* and *e*-forms has nothing to do with chronology. So much is evidently clear from the chronological table; the differences met with in different works easily reveal themselves as being of another nature. Both means are used to almost the same extent, even in the earliest texts, and are still used in the late ones (Jud., Par. Ps.).[1]

Closer examination of group B. To begin with the words in which double pl.-forms occur, i. e., *group B*, containing the simple words *hettend* and *wyrcend* and certain cpp. with *-berend, -līðend, -rædend, -wīȝend, -būend*, and *-wyrcend*, we shall easily find that the choice of the inflected or the uninflected form is governed by the metre. In a few of the cases, it is true, the other form would have given a verse metrically possible, too, but then only of a rarer type — generally an exceptional form of a certain type — whereas the preserved form gives a natural and common verse.[2] Of course, that does not imply that the occurrence of the adjectival pl.-form of the poetical *end*-nouns, side by side with the substantival one, is due, originally, to the metre, but only that the actually existing forms are used according to the requirements of the metre, and not, as far at least as I have been able to discern, to any semological or chronological difference. Nor does it imply that one of the forms of each particular word is not commoner than the other — is not its usual, and perhaps more natural, form. For, in nearly all the words, we find, indeed, one form preferred, as it were, to the other. A short summary of the different cpp.-groups belonging to group B and their parallel formations in groups A and C will show that the majority of *cpp.* with *līðend, -būend, -wyrcend*, and (in *late* O. E.) *-wīȝend* form their pl. according to the type of *group*

[1] As for a certain chronological difference, see pp. 107 (note 1), 108.

[2] Unfortunately, for want of space, I cannot enter into a discussion of the recorded cases; I must refer to the material given above, where my statement can easily be verified.

C, but the cpp. with *-berend* and (in *early* O. E.) *-wīȝend* according to *A.*, whereas cpp. with *-rādend* oscillate between the two.[1]

The said cpp. are the commonest cpp.-groups of poetical *end*-nouns. As for the others, the cpp. with *-lācende, -sittende, -āȝende, -[fērende], -fremmende, -hæbbende*, and *-hycȝende*, they all belong *exclusively to group C*, with the exception of *ymbsittend*, which has the uninflected form in its one existing record of npl. Corresponding simple words are not recorded, except in the case of *āȝend* [and *fērend*], which word shows uninflected forms.

Rules to be reduced.

Considering these facts,[2] it appears:

1) that all those common poetical cpp.-groups have, or at least can have, the inflected pl.-form;
2) that the simple *end*-nouns belong almost unexceptionally to group A;
3) that isolated cpp. are generally inflected like simple *end*-nouns.

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[1] *berend-cpp.:*
A: *reord* ~ 4, *æsc* ~ 3, *ȝāst* ~ 3, *ȝār* ~ 1, *helm* ~ 2.
C: *reord* ~ 2, *sweord* ~ 1.

līðend-cpp.:
A: *sæ* ~ 3
C: *brim* ~ 1, *heaðo* ~ 1, *mere* ~ 2, *sæ* ~ 2, *wāȝ* ~ 2, and prose *scip* ~ 2. Cp. simplex *þa līðende* 1 (C).

wīȝend-cpp.:
A: *byrn* ~ 1, *ȝār* ~ 1. Cp. simplex *wīȝend* 17 (A).
C: *byrn* ~ 1, *lind* ~ 2, *rond* ~ 2.

Here it must be noted, however, that *ȝārwīȝend* is recorded *B.* and *byrn* ~ *Hö.*, whereas, of the 5 *e*-cases, 4 are recorded *Jud.* and 1 (*lind* ~) *Metr.* In this particular case, the *e*-forms are thus chronologically later than the uninflected forms.

būend-cpp.:
A: *eorð* ~ 7, *feor* ~ 1, *fold* ~ 3, *īeȝ* ~ 1, *lond* ~ 1, *sund* ~ 1 : total 14; cp. simplex *būend* 1 (prose).
C: *eorð* ~ 10 (+ 2 prose), *feor* ~ 1, *fold* ~ 7, *īeȝ* ~ 1, *lond* ~ 2, *sund* ~ 3, *woruld* ~ 1 : total 25 (27).

wyrcend-cpp.:
A: *syn* ~ 1 Cp. simplex *wyrcend* 1.
B: *firen* ~ 1, *syn* ~ 2. Cp. simplex *wyrcende* 1.

hettend-cp.
C: *eald* ~ 1. Cp. simplex *hettend* 5 (A) and 2 (C) respectively.

rādend-cp.:
A: *sele* ~ 1.
B: *sele* ~ 1. Simplex *rādend* not recorded in pl.

[2] Cp. statistics above, p. 103 f.

Morphological character of end-nouns with pl.-e.

The adjectival pl.-ending, therefore, seems to have acquired settlement, so to speak, only or chiefly in the *cpp.-groups*. The three simplicia occurring with *-e*, viz., *līðend*, *hettend*, and *wyrcend* can easily be explained as influenced by their own cpp. The discrepancy existing between the substantival flexion of the simplex and the adjectival flexion of its cpp. can, of course, influence the words in question in either direction. Now, both *līðend* and *wyrcend* are very rare as simple words, but their cpp., esp. those of *līðend*, are numerous and of frequent occurrence, so that such a development is quite natural in those cases. As for *hettend*, it is true only one cp. exists, viz., *eald* ~, and that cp. is only recorded once, in the late Jud. But then the usual form of *hettend* is also with uninflected pl. (5 against 2 with *-e*). Of particular interest is, too, one of the two records of pl. *hettende*, viz., the early one, B. 1828, where the Ms. has, actually, *hetend*, which has been altered by editors into *hettende*, for metrical reasons;[1] the second record, Ph. 441, also shows the form *hettende* as metrically necessary.

Very illustrative of this view is the *wīȝend*-group (see p. 107 note 1). The clearly substantival *cpp.* of *wīȝend* at first retain the flexion of the simple word, but later on the principle of flexion prevailing in the other poetical cpp. *end*-nouns attracts them, and in late O. E. they have only napl. with *-e*. The *simplex wīȝend*, on the other hand, does not show the *e*-form in a single one of its 17 records for the napl., whether of late or early date.

Origin of -e in the substantival end-nouns.

Yet, though the poetical *cpp. end*-nouns, without regard to sense, could assume the adjectival pl.-form, when desirable for metrical reasons, I do not think that this character of theirs was, in itself, the cause of the origin of this flexion. The cause of its origin certainly is a semological one, the same as we found for the ending in prose,[2] though it is less obvious in the poetical formations, viz., the chiefly adjectival nature of the words that first adopted it, even when used substantivally. And even among the material given above (especially p. 94 f.) there are many words which can

[1] The form *hettende* can there also be explained as verbal. I am inclined to think that such was the intention of the author; the scribe then misinterpreted the form as a sb. and consequently substituted the natural substantival form of a simple *end*-noun for it, without observing that he spoilt the metre.

[2] Cp. above, p. 101 f.

claim the honour of being the inducing morphems — words the adjectival character of which is so conspicuous as sometimes to make it doubtful whether we are at all justified in speaking of nom. ag., and not simply of adjs. occasionally used substantivally, i. e., *concrete nomina virtutis*, rather then *nomina agentis*. Such is especially the case with the cpp. with *-ā3ende*, *-fremmende*, *-hæbbende*, and above all *-hyc3ende*. Thus, for instance, *ā-fremmende* means much the same as *ā-fæst* (Gu. 497), *blādā3ende* as *blād-fæst* (as adj. B. 1299), the cpp. with *-hyc3ende* little more than the cpp. with *-hy3-di3*. As a rule, these cpp. of *-hyc3ende* are also used as adj. or verbs (as app. ptc.), only exceptionally do they occur in substantival use, and then just as nom. virtutis. And so also the *wyrcende*-group: *firen-*, *scyld-*, and *syn-wyrcende*, none of which means any more than the adj. *synfull* or *scyldi3* in substantival use.[1] Now, what is more natural than that these words should be inflected like adj., even when used substantivally? It will also be seen that, when occurring substantivally in sg., they have the adjectival form there, too. But then it must have been very easy for these nomina virtutis which are verging on nom. ag. to influence the other *end*-nouns discussed above, even those that were not at all of adjectival nature: they were on a par with them *morphologically* — being *cpp.* — and *semologically* (*stylistically*) — being used in poetry as *kennings*[2] and (or) *variations*[3] —. For that is the function of all of these words: they are not real *names* of persons (things), and recognized as such, but only some sort of designations of a more occasional character, and restricted to a certain style (poetry, chiefly epic poetry). Now, there were simple words, too, that had much of the adjective in them and might have influenced other words, but they were not so numerous, nor of so uniform a character, as, for instance, all the words forming one cpp.-group, such as *hyc3ende*-cpp.; nor did the simple *end*-nouns share with the cpp. their stylistic character to so great an extent. In fact, we find simple adjectival ptcc., such as *lif3ende*, *þearfiende*, and (in

[1] It is worth noting that the L. sb. *peccator* is almost always translated in O. E. by the adj. *synfull*, and that there is no proper nom. ag. in O. E. to the verbs with the meaning of 'to sin'. The above kennings, consequently, are, indeed, used for the adj. *synfull* (*scyldi3*) or some such word.

[2] Cp. Bode "Die Kenningar in der angelsächs. Dichtung", Leipzig 1886.

[3] Cp. Paetzel, "Die Variationen in der altgerm. Allit.-poesie", Berlin, 1905.

prose) *hyngriende*, etc., used substantivally, but that is only in accordance with the ways in which adj. are substantivized in general, and it has not influenced other simplicia that are real sb.

It will now be clear why I could give as my opinion (cp. above, p. 103) that the *e*-plural in the *end*-nouns was a possession of poetry. We have found the ending both in prose and poetry, it is true, but in prose it appeared almost exclusively in such words as were originally adj., or were perhaps still adj. used occasionally as sb., whereas in poetry the ending has passed over to a great many clear sb., such as *byrnwīgend*, *sælīðend*, *selerædend*, *īegbūend*, etc. We have found that the clearly substantival words that have adopted this ending belong to a type that belongs both formally and stylistically to poetry. There are poetical cpp. that have not shared the development of the said cpp.-groups. Such is the case with the isolated cpp. given above under A, viz., *hearmcweðend*, *frumsprecend*, *oferhelmend*, *wiðerfeohtend*, *ymbsittend*. These words are not cpp. of exactly the same stylistic type as the others, nor are all of them so clearly felt as cpp. There are verbs, *oferhelmian*, *wiðfeohtan*, *ymbsittan*, from which the sb. are directly formed. All clear cpp. sb. with a preposition for a first member seem to be treated in this way, i. e., as simple words.

There still remains one question in this connection, and that is, Why the adjectival ending has gained so much firmer ground in napl. than in the corresponding cases of the sg. That question, however, will be treated of below (see p. 120 ff.).

II. Nominative and Accusative Singular with -e.[1]

A. Words with substantival flexion, but showing occasional forms with -e.

1. Poetry.

Recorded cases.

lēohtberende: wæs þæt encȝelcynn ær ȝenemned, Lucifer haten, leohtberende, on ȝeardaȝum in ȝodes rice Sat. 367.

Cp. *leohtberend,* also of Lucifer, Ælfc Hom. I 10_{14}; Ælfc gr. 27^{14}; Ælfc de test. 2^{35}; Wulfst. 306^{24}: an þæra enȝla - - - þæt se wæs Leohtberend nemned.

fērende: fæȝer ferende fundað æfre Rä. 84,5.

Not recorded in the form *fērend,* but cp. pl. *ferend* J. 60; Wulf. 25 (cp. weȝ-, widfērende).

App. ptc. (to a preceding *wiht*) accord. to Callaway 247; cp. p. 115.

2. Prose.

dælnimende: þisse þinre þeowenne, and þæt heo sy dælnimende þæs heofonlican rices L. S. XXXIII 55;[2] participium ys dælnimende Ælfc gr. 9^{18} J, U (other Mss. dælnimend).

Cp. *dælnimend* Ælfc Hom I 36_4, 606^5, II 336^{11}, 422^{14}; L. S. XXXVI 354 (of fem. word); Ælfc gr 9^{18}, 242^{11}, ^{15}; Ags. Min. (Angl. XI) IX 86; in poetry Par. Ps. 118,63.

fultumiende: þe his ȝefera wæs and fultumiende Bd III 3332 T (Mss. B, O fultumiend).

Cp. *fultumiend* 31 ×, *ȝefultumiend* 7 ×, *tofultumiend* 1 ×,[3] note also pl. *fultumiend* 2 ×. *fultumiendas* 1 × never **fultumiende.*[4]

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[1] The regular forms are here so dominant that they need not be particularly mentioned.

[2] The word will have to be regarded as an adj. in this (and similar) cases.

[3] prose and glosses.

[4] Cp. above, p. 90.

æfterfylȝende: se wæs Trumheres æfterfylȝende Bd III 3325 O, Ca (Mss. T, B æfterfylȝend).

Cp. *æfterfylȝend* 13×;[1] note also dsg. *æfterfylȝende* Bd 2×, napl. *æfterfylȝend* 3×, *æfterfylȝendas* 2×, *æfterfylȝende* 1× (Bd III 1 O).[2]

wyrcende: þurh þa unrotnysse þe is deaðes wyrcende Ags. Min. (Angl. XI) IX 43 Ms. Tib.

Cp. *wyrcend* Ælfc Hom I 102^{2}; II 596_{8} Ags. Min. (Angl. XI) IX 43, Du. Ri. 29 (30); note also pl. *wyrcend* 1, *wyrcende* 1 (poetry).[3]

3. Glosses.[4]

[*dælnimende* gl. particeps several times alternating with dælnimend; when inflected like an adj., it will best be regarded as an adj.].

rīdende: eques ridda oðde ridende Ælfc gr. 51^{15}.

Cp. *ridend* B 2457 (probably pl.),[5] but note dsg. *ridendum*, recorded gl.[6]

āstīȝende: ascensorem astiȝende Eadw. Hy 4,1.

Cp. *astiȝend* ib. and *onstiȝend* VHy. 5,2.

borȝiende: fenerator borȝiende Splm Ps 108,11, according to BT.

Cp. *borȝiend* Reg. Ar. Ps. ib.

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[1] All prose-instances.

[2] Cp. above, p. 93, cp. p. 103.

[3] Cp. above, p. 93.

[4] I have thought it appropriate to give the gloss instances found as well, though I do not think they prove anything at all. The quotation from Ælfc. gr. 51^{15}, given below, it is true, seems to put *rīdende* on a par with *ridda*, both being equivalent to L. eques; cp. also Ælfric's statement in his gr. 61^{8}: *amans lufiȝende is æȝðer ȝe nama ȝe participium.* But these two passages do not imply or prove anything more than that the pr. ptc. has the double function of a verbal and a nominal (substantival) word, without stating anything whatever about the possible difference in form to be found in the two functions; it only implies that the pr. ptc. can be used substantivally. Cp. what Ælfric himself says in another passage, gr. 255^{9}: *eft amans deum lufiȝende ȝod is pacticipium and amans dei is nama. þat is amator dei, ȝodes lufiȝend and amans virtatis michte lufiȝend* Now, I think gloss instances, in general, must be regarded as the said *ridende.* The glossator, in many cases, as is well known, only gives the O. E. word corresponding to the L. lemma, without intending exactly to give that very form it ought to, and would, have had, if occurring in a running text.

[5] Cp. above, p. 86.

[6] Cp. below, p. 118.

eardiȝend: habitatorem eardiȝende Ar. Hy. 2,11.

Cp. *eardiȝend* Reg. Hy. ib.; VHy. 3,4; Greg. 236[8]; note also pl. *eardiȝend* 2 ×,[1] but *eardiȝende* Ar. Hy. 4,15.

weȝfērend: viator weȝferende Scint. 225[10].

Cp. *weȝferend* ib. 187[6]; Boeth. 33[9],[14]; Greg 128[9]; 314[12]; Kent. gl. 137, but pl. *weȝferende*[2] and dsg. *weȝferendum.*[3]

fultumiend: adjutor fultumiende Eadw. Ps. 9,35. Cp. prec. p.

miltsiend: miserator miltsiȝende Eadw. Ps. 102,8; 110,4; 114,4.

Cp. *miltsiȝend* Eadw. Ps. 85,15; 144,8; and other Ps. gl. ib.; Du. Ri. 69[3]; 170(40); Ælfc Hom II 420[17]; ȝemildsiend Apoll. Tyr. 28[15].

tācnend: index tæcnendi Ep. Erf. 544; Co. I 216.

Cp. *tæcnend* Cl. gl. 426[38].

B. Words only recorded with e-forms.

1. Poetry.

faroðlācende: hafast þe on fyrhðe, faroðlacende, / eorles andsware A. 507.[4]

lyftlācende: þæt þu me ȝecyðe, cyninȝa wuldor / - - hwæt þes þeȝn sy, / lyftlacende, þe mec læreð from þe J. 281.

App. ptc. according to Callaway p. 245.

folcāȝende: ða for ðam folce frecne mode / beotwordum spræc, bealȝ hine swiðe / folcaȝende and þa fæmnan het J. 186.

mānfremmende: ðe ðu hæstlice, / manfremmende to me beotast J. 137.[4]

App. ptc. or subst., according to Callaway, p. 245.

ȝlēawhycȝende: þe þes dema hafað / þa wyrrestan witu ȝeȝearwad, / - - - ȝif þu onsecȝan nelt, / ȝleawhycȝende and his ȝodum cweman J. 252.

App. ptc., according to Callaway, p. 245.

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[1] See p. 87.

[2] See pp. 95, 96.

[3] See p. 117.

[4] Köhler, Infinitiv u. Particip im Beowulf (p. 66), holds that "substantiviert ist auch das Particip, wenn es mit dem ungeschlechtlichen Pronomen verbunden ist". I do not think, however, that this can be laid down as a general rule. The instance given by Köhler: Beo þu suna minum dædum ȝedefe, *dream healdende* B. 1228, we may rather regard, with Callaway, as containing an app. ptc.: 'der du im Jubel lebst (Jubel hältst)' than as a subst.: 'Jubelhalter'. And certainly *ȝītsiende* is not a subst., but an app. ptc. with modal function in the sentence: þa þu *ȝītsiende* on beam ȝripe Gen. 890.

rādhycȝende: þu þe anne ȝenim / to ȝesprecan symle spella and lara / rædhycȝende Fæ. 26.

wiðerhycȝende: onȝan þa meldiȝan morðres brytta, / hellehinca, þone halȝan wer, / wiðerhycȝende, and þæt word ȝecwæð A. 1172; þu - - on fyrbæðe - - syððan wunodest - - and þær awa scealt / wiðerhycȝende werȝðu dreoȝan E 951.

In last instance app. ptc. according to Callaway, p. 243.

scyldwyrcende: sceal nu lanȝe ofer þis / scyldwyrcende scame þrowian J. 445.

App. ptc. according to Callaway, p. 245.

synwyrcende: þær se mihtiȝa cyniȝ in neolnesse / nyðer bescufað synwyrcende / in susla ȝrund, domes leasne E. 943.

2. Prose.

drincende: drincende wines Ru.[1] 11,19. — Cp. following word.

win~: her ys ettul man and windrincende — L. homo vorax et potator vini Ws. ev. ib.

andettende: ic eom þe ealra andettende Ags. Min. (Angl. XI) II 30.

3. Glosses.

wæxberende: cerarius væx biorende Du. Ri. 195[8].

yfelberende: nugigerulus yfelberende Nap. gl. 53,16.

ȝelācende: emula ȝelæca ł ȝelæcende Germ. 391 b27.

landhæbbende: tribunus landhæbbende ł his cynnes latwa Du. Ri. 193(9).

onhiȝiende: grassatrix onhichiende ł forswelȝend devoratrix Hpt. gl. 458 a_2; Nap. gl. 1,2202.

lēaniende: ultricem leaniende vindicatricem Hpt. gl. 496 a^5.

ȝeðwærende: assentatrix, i. adulatrix ȝehwæriende Hpt. gl. 527 b^4 assentatrix ȝehwæriende Nap. gl. 1,5376.[1]

weorðiȝende: fenerator weorðiȝende Eadw. Ps. 108,11.

Discussion of material. After the detailed discussion of the formation of the napl., much need not be said here. We can state at once that the sg. *e*-forms, if gloss-examples are disregarded, are very sporadic, and that they do not hold the same position as the corresponding pl. ones.

[1] As for the form *ȝehwær-* = *ȝeþwær-*, see Nap. gl. 1,66 note.

Let us take the poetical words that are only recorded with *e*-forms. 5 of the 9 recorded cases are interpreted as app. ptcc. by Callaway, and that I have entered them here does not mean that I oppose Callaway's interpretation, only that I regard another conception of them as possible. As clear sb., however, are, at any rate, to be considered *folcāȝende, rædhycȝende, wiðerhycȝende* (1st instance), and *synwyrcende*. The *e*-form in these words, as well as in the others, if they are really sb., need not surprise us; we found the same form as the only one used also in the pl. of these words. We have to do with, semologically, concrete nom. virtutis, which are in everything treated like adjs., even if used substantivally; they thus serve further to corroborate our above theory that these words were the inducing morphems of the other compounded *ende*-sb. inflected like adj. In the sing., however, such influence has not operated; the two poetical records *leohtberende* and *fērende* stand quite isolated. And of these two words, *fērende* may be accounted for by a reference to the exclusively adjectival pl.-forms of the cpp. of this word,[1] which adjectival form may occasionally have been extended also to the sg.; moreover it is not impossible that the word is to be regarded, as by Callaway, as an app. ptc., though the preceding word *fæȝer* is rather curious in that case. A similar explanation also suggests itself for the other word, in the case of which, moreover, the form of the word makes it more liable to an external influence of this kind; at any rate, the form seems to show that the adjectival form of the ptc. *could* be used independently, i. e., as a sb., in the sg., too. Whether there was any difference felt in O. E, as regards the sense, between *leohtberende* occasionally used substantivally in that form, and *leohtberend*, I do not pretend to decide. *e-forms in poetry.*

That such adjectival flexion of ptcc., used substantivally, could really occur also in the sg., though more exceptionally, is also shown by the prose-records. As for the *e*-forms of the words under II 2, *fultumiend, æfterfylȝend, wyrcend*, it is true, these are not quite trustworthy, since in these three cases there exist traditional and often recorded substantival forms, whereas each of the adjectival forms occurs only once, and always as a variant in passages where other Mss. have (retained) the correct substantival form. I do not hesitate in regarding them as inadvertencies on *e-forms in prose.*

[1] See, above, pp. 95, 96.

the part of the scribes, probably due to a blending of different constructions, viz.: þe *his fultumiend* wæs — þe *him fultumiende* wæs; se wæs *Trumheres æfterfylȝend;* se wæs *Trumhere æfterfylȝende;* þe is *deaðes wyrcend* — þe is *deað wyrcende.*[1]

But with the other prose-records showing words only occurring in adjectival form the case is different. *Drincende* and *windrincende* were evidently used as sb., but only in that form. Cp. poetry: þær bið *drincendra* dream Wy. 79: *ealodrincende* oðer sædon B. 1945. The sense of the word is strongly adjectival, as is shown from its co-ordination with an adj., but it must be regarded as a sb. on account of the following *wines.*[2] And likewise *andettende* is used as a sb. In that particular case, one might be inclined to assume a contamination of the same type as the one discussed above, the phrase being a blending between *ic eom eall andettende* and *ic eom ealra andetta,* but here the case is somewhat different. There is no real *end*-sb. of *andettan* in existence. The phrase *andettende beon,* originally construed with the acc., has, however, become quite equivalent to *andetta beon,* construed with the gen., or to *andettan,* tr. vb., an equivalence which has been extended to the construction of the phrases. We find, indeed, one case of the phrase *andetta beon* construed the other way, i. e., with the acc.: ic *eom andetta* ælmihtiȝan ȝode and eac minum scrifte *ealle þa synna* þe etc. Beichtgebet Arch. 121,46.[3]

e-forms in glosses.

The lack of value as evidence of the gloss-records was indicated above. If there exists a clearly substantival form recorded of a certain word, we can safely say that the occasional occurrence of an *e*-form in a gloss is to be explained as due to the

[1] It is more surprising that there are not more such blendings in the whole of O. E literature.

[2] There was no proper nom. ag. to *drincan* in O. E. *drincere* did not mean 'one who drinks', but 'one who loves drunkenness', or, to quote Ælfc L. S. XVII 41: *drinceras þæt synd þa þe druncennysse lufiað,* and this secondary sense made it less appropriate when followed by *wines.* The fact that Lind. uses the word *drincere* in the passage quoted above (Mt. 11,19), is, of course, not due to any wider sense of the word in the Northu. dialect, but only to the gloss-character of the record: *potator vini,* in this context, might have been rendered by *drincere* alone, or literally *drincende wines.*

[3] The equivalence may start from passages where the phrases are followed by a that-clause: *ic eom andetta* or *andettende þæt* etc. or *ic andette þæt* etc., and then have been occasionally extended further.

very gloss-character of the record. For the other words that are not recorded as clear sb., only in glosses as glossing sb. but with retained adjectival form, it is not to be decided whether they could really have been used as sb. in a running translation.

Summary. To sum up, we find a few ptcc. used substantivally in their adjectival forms, but they do not seem able to assume substantival form. The recorded cases were:

Prose: *andettende*, *drincende* (probably also *londhæbbende*, recorded only in gl., but made probable by parallel formations).

Poetry: cpp. with *-lācende* (fareð-, lyft-), *āȝende* (folc-; cp. simplex), *-fremmende* (mān-), *-hycȝende* (ȝlēaw-, rǣd-, wiðer-) and *-wyrcende* (scyld-, syn-; cp. simplex), all of which may be regarded as being of adjectival nature.

III. Dative Singular with -um.

1. Poetry.

Recorded cases.

scyppend: þeah þe ic scyppendum, / wuldorcyninȝe waccor hyrde / ricum dryhtne, þonne - - - Geb. IV 15.[1]

2. Prose.

feohtend: setl ȝedafenað deman and steall fylstendum oððe feohtendum Ælfc Hom I 48_6.

Cp. nsg. *feohtend*, *wiðfeohtend*, and dsg. *wiðfeohtende:* to fultome ðæm wiðfeohtende Past. 279[1].

scyppend: drihtne, urum scyppendum Reg. Ben. 25^{17}. Ordinary form *scyppende* (prose and poetry).

weȝfērend: ne fæȝnode ic on mines feondes hryre, ne læȝ ælþeodiȝ man wiðutan minum heȝum, ac min duru ȝeopenode symle weȝferendum — ostium meum *viatori* patuit Ælfc Hom II 448_{13} = Hiob IV (31^{32}). Cp. above p. 113.

fylstend: see above *feohtend.* — Cp. nsg. *fylstend* and *ȝefylstend*, both rather common, especially in Ps. gl.

moniend: þæt he aȝeafe his moniendum þa XII — L. creditore Greg. 158^{19} C (Ms. O, H maniende; so also 157^{32}, where Ms. C has moniendan).

[1] Perhaps attributively.

3. Glosses.

rīdend: cum equestri ridendum, mid ridendum Nap. gl. 1,4748; Hpt gl. 515 b_2; cum equestri mid ridendum ib. 2,380; equestri, i. ridendum ib. 7,331; New Aldh. gl. 258 b.

oferwinnend: expugnatore oferwinnendum Scint. 8_6. Cp. simplex nsg. *winnend* Abbo gl. Cler 35.

inlaðiend: inlaðiȝendum (þinum) invitatori (tuo) Scint. 170_8.

lēaniend: remuneratore leaniendum Hpt gl. 424 b^{10}; 492 a^1; remuneratore, i. gubernatore leaniendum Nap. gl. 1,767.

The word is never recorded in substantival forms, but cp. *(ȝe)edlēaniend, eftlēaniend.*

ātendend: accensore atendendum Scint. 208^3.

Adjectival flexion of hælend, etc.

The names of the deity often occur with adjectival flexion, but that is only before another name of God. So especially *hælend* is very often used in that way, e. g., þæt is ure dryhten *hælende* Crist Or. 250^{25}; urum drihtne *hælendum* Criste Bd III 2747; cp. the commoner *hælende*, e. g., to *hælende* Criste L. S. XXXII 113. Sometimes it is also found with weak adjectival flexion, e. g., ure drihten *hælenda* Crist Bd IV 2260 O (Mss. B, T, *hælende*), þam *hælendan* Criste Greg. 155^{15} C (Ms. H. *hælendum*). The above quoted adjectival forms of *scyppend* will have to be accounted for as springing from such combinations. In those combinations, however, the words must certainly be regarded as adjs.; cp. the asg. *hælendne* Crist, e. g. L. S. XXX 403. Cp. also *waldend ȝod* (e. g., Par. Ps. 55,4) beside *waldende ȝod* (e. g., Cr. 1162).

um-forms in glosses.

As was seen, the dsg. in *-um* is very often recorded in glosses, nay, there is an evident preponderance of *um*-forms as compared to *e*-forms in that case, cp. below. This circumstance is undoubtedly due to a desire to mark the dat. case clearly, so as to avoid ambiguity, the ending *-e*, in glosses, suggesting rather the uninflected form. It is also worth noting that all existing instances are either from Aldh. gl. (Nap., Hpt.) or from Scint. There is no doubt that, if such words as the Scint.-records *oferwinnend*, *inlaðiend*, and *ātendend* had been used in a running text, they would have exhibited substantival forms, if used substantivally.

um-forms in prose.

Considering the fact, however, that dsg. is a not very common case, the comparatively frequent use of *um*-forms in words of clearly substantival character is rather apt to surprise us. Only

in weȝfērend do we find a word of more adjectival nature (ptc. > adj. > sb.), cp. above, p. 102. And, as the examples show, it is not only when L. has a ptc. in substantival use that the verbal (adjectival) form is used in O. E., but also to translate a L.sb. (viator, creditor). Perhaps there is a L. ptc. behind *feohtendum* and *fylstendum* — I have not had an apportunity of ascertaining that — but not behind the others. So we find that, also in dsg., the adjectival forms of the ptc. *could* be used substantivally, even if there was a corresponding *end*-sb. in use.

Dat. sg. with -e.

For the sake of comparison, I also give the not very numerous records of *dsg. with -e*, the ordinary dat.-ending of the clear *end*-sb. They are as follows:

Poetry: *healdend* Rä. 21,23; *scyppend* 7×[1]; *wīȝend* A. 983; *hælend* 5×[2]; *neriend* 6×[2].

Prose: *feohtend* Past. 279[1]; *scyppend* often; *āȝend* Abt. 8 (2×), Wi. 27; *æfterfylȝend* Bd II 472, 1495, V 2251; *hælend* often; *lænend* Ws. ev. L. 7,41; *ālīesend* Greg. 256[11]; *maniend* Greg. 157[32] (except Ms. C.), 158[19] (except Ms. C); *onsecȝend* Conf. Ecȝb. 166$_6$; *sēmend* Wer 4.

Glosses: a) *other glosses than Lind. and Du. Ri.:*
scyppend; ālȳsend Scint. 128$_6$.

b) *Du. Ri.; Lind. G.*
ēhtend Du. Ri. 64(3); *hælend; scyppend; þrēatend* Lind. Mt. I 17[4]; 5,42; 11,12.

Chronology of e- and um-forms.

It is of interest to observe that the *um*-forms, when compared with the substantival forms, are of late date, that they are not recorded from Ælfred and the Laws (*moniendum*, as only occurring in one Ms., reveals itself as due to the scribe) but occur 3 times in Ælfric, whereas the *e*-forms, are characteristic of Ælfred and the Laws but are not recorded from Ælfc — I disregard the common *hælend* and *scyppend*. That fact tallies very well with the results reached in the case of napl, see p. 103 ff., where we found that the adjectival form was characteristic of Ælfric's language.

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[1] Given Gr.-K., except Zaub. VIII 12 and Guðl., p. 636.

[2] Given Gr.-K.

Explanation of the difference in occurence of adjectival forms in the two numbers.

The preceding survey of the flexion of the substantival *end*-nouns has shown us that adjectival endings may occur by the side of the substantival ones, not only in the napl., but also, though more exceptionally, in dat. sg. and nom. sg. In the last cases, the adjectival forms have not gained the same firm foothold as in napl., but are restricted to nomina virtutis or occur quite occasionally in such words as do not seem to allow of the formation of a clear *end*-noun; a few *um*-forms in the dat. sg. belong, however, to clearly substantival words. And while, of the whole number of recorded pl.-forms, the *e*-forms constitute a large proportion, the number of *e*-forms in nasg. is exceedingly small, when compared to the whole number of substantival forms.

The question then arises, what the reason can be for the greater frequency of adjectival forms in the *pl.* than in the *sg.* It may perhaps, at first, seem unnecessary to indicate any other answer to that question than a reference to the fact that there were already two cases in the pl. where conformity existed between substantival and adjectival forms, viz., the gen. and dat., the latter of which being the original starting-point for the passing over of adjectival forms into the *end*-sb. But it is not clear why that circumstance should influence the nom. and acc. pl. so much more than the other cases, especially as there was also in the sg. one case where identity existed between sb. and adj., viz., the genitive.

If an investigation is made into the occurrence of *end*-sb. in different numbers (and cases), the actual development in O. E. of these words will be quite clear and will appear to be quite in the nature of things. The prose-words, which are almost all of them words of rare occurrence, are, for the most part, recorded from the *nsg.*, as will be seen in the records of these words in the following part of my treatise. It is thus quite natural that they should be met with in the usual substantival form. The poetical words, on the other hand, are, for the most part, recorded just in the *pl.*, in the different cases, very often in gen. and dat., and the influence from these cases is therefore very natural. Nay, the poetical *end*-nouns occurring in the pl.-form with *-e* are, practically, pluralia tantum, with only exceptional occurrence in the sg.

Statistics.

Proof of this will be afforded by the following statistical table, which comprises all poetical *end*-nouns, i. e., those *end*-nouns that belong only, or at least chiefly, to poetical style. Such parallel formations as belong to prose, and also existing prose-records of chiefly poetical nouns, are given in brackets.

Formations	nasg.	gsg.	dsg.	napl.	gpl.	dpl.
[berend]	[3]			[2]		
æsc ~				3		
[ǣwisc ~]	[1]					
[disc ~]	[3]					
feorh ~					2	
ȝǣst ~				3		
ȝār ~				1	1	
helm ~				2	1	
lēoht ~	[4] 1					
reord ~				6	1	2
sāwol ~					1	
seȝn ~					1	
[sīð ~]	[1]					
sweord ~				1		
lyftflēoȝende					1	
daroð-lācende				2	1	
faroð ~	1			1		1
lyft ~	1			1		
līðend	1			1		
brim ~				1	1	
ēa ~						1
heaðo ~				1		2
mere ~				2		1
sǣ ~				5		
[scip ~]				[2]		[2]
wǣȝ ~				2		2
rædend	4					
maȝo ~		1				
sele ~				2		
scēotend				5	1	3
sciepþend(e?)					2	
bencsittende				1		1
burȝ ~				8	1	6
flet ~				1		3
heal ~					1	
[on ~]				[2]		
ymb ~				[1] 1	[1] 3	2
wīȝend	3		1	18	15	1
byrn ~				2	2	1
ȝār ~				1		
lind ~				2	1	
rond ~				2	2	
sweord ~					1	
	[12] 11	1	1	[7] 75	[1] 39	[2] 26

Formations	nasg.		gsg.	dsg.		napl.		gpl.		dpl.	
	[12]	11	1		1	[7]	75	[1]	39	[2]	26
āȝend	[5]	13	1	[3]			1				
blǣd ~							1				
bold ~									1		1
burȝ ~									1		
folc ~		1					1		1		
mæȝn ~									1		
[blissiende]								[4]			
mōd ~									1		
brinȝend		1									
būend	[6]					[1]			1	[5]	
ān ~									1		
ceaster ~											1
eorð ~						[2]	18	[1]	10	[1]	9
feor ~							2				
fold ~							10		3		5
ȝrund ~									2		
hēr ~									2		1
īeȝ ~							2		1		1
[in ~]	[2]										
lond ~	[3]					[2]	3		1	[5]	4
nēah ~											1
sund ~							4				1
þēod ~									1		2
woruld ~							1		2		1
byrnende									1		
byrȝend							1				
cwāniende									1		
ȝōddōnd		1					1				
dēmend		2									
dræfend		1									
drȳmend									1		
fēoȝende									1		
feormend							1		1		
fērend		1					2				
scip ~											1
weȝ ~	[6]			[1]		[3]	1	[1]		[1]	
wīd ~							2				
feriend		1									
æ-fremmende							1				
firen ~									1		
ȝūð ~									2		
heaðo ~							1				
	[34]	32	2	[4]	1	[15]	128	[7]	76	[14]	54

Formations	nasg.	gsd.	dsg.	napl.	gpl.	dpl.
	[34] 32	2	[4] 1	[15] 128	[7] 76	[14] 54
mān ~	1				1	1
nāht ~					1	
riht ~				1	1	1
til ~					1	
wōh ~						1
fricȝende					1	
ǣ-fyllende					1	
ȝēocend	7					
ȝnornende					1	
hæbbende		1				
bord ~				1		
[heofonhæbbend]	[1]					
[landhæbbende]	[1]	[1]				
lind ~				1	1	
rond ~					1	
searo ~				1	3	
mæðelhēȝende					1	
hettend	[1]			7	1	3
eald ~				1		
moldhrērende					1	
[forhycȝend, - hoȝiend]	[3]					
[oferhoȝiend]	[1]					
bealohycȝende					1	
ȝlēaw ~	1					
ȝram ~				1		
nīð ~				2	1	
rǣd ~	1					
wiðer ~	2			1		
oferhylmend				1		
hȳðend					1	
lædend ‘excuser’	1					
ǣ-lǣrend					1	
settend	2					
tūdortēonde					1	
rǣdþeahtende				1		
þeccend	1					
wēmend	1					
wincende					1	
[wuniȝend(e?)]		[1]				
dryht ~ wuniȝende					1	
woruld ~					1	
wyrcend	[5]			[3] 2	[1]	[2] 1
	[46] 49	[2] 3	[4] 1	[18] 148	[8] 99	[16] 61

Formations	nasg.	gsg.	dsg.	napl.	gpl.	dpl.
	[46] 49	[2] 3	[4] 1	[18] 148	[8] 99	[16] 61
[efen ~]	[1]					
[wel ~]						[1]
[wīn ~]						[1]
firen ~				1	1	
scyld ~	1			1		
syn ~	1			3	2	
Total	[47] 51	[2] 3	[4] 1	[18] 153	[8] 102	[18] 61

The preceding tables are, in my mind, quite conclusive of my statement above (p. 120): the poetical *end*-nouns, especially the cpp. ones, are, practically, pl. tantum. Of the 51 records for nasg, about one half, or 24, are formed by *āȝend*, *rædend*, and *ȝēocend*, and if these and some few other names of the deity, all with not exclusively poetical character, are excepted, the number of records for the sg. will be exceedingly small, when compared with those of the pl. That is especially true of the cpp.-groups into which adjectival flexion has made its entry, viz., the groups *-līðend*, *-berend*, *-sittende*, *-wīȝend*, *-būend*, there existing only one cp. word recorded in sg., viz., the adjectival form *leohtberende*. Cp. the corresponding simplicia, among which records also occur for the sg., e. g., *līðend*, *wīȝend*.

The occurrence of an *end*-noun only in the pl. may, of course, be fortuitous. But, for the above mentioned words and for the poetical cpp. in *-end* in general, I think the circumstance stated is not fortuitous. There is evidently a tendency in O. E. towards using these words only in the pl. The words in question are only used as kennings for pl. words and have no independent existence, except as kennings. According to my opinion, consequently, *ȝārwīȝend*, to take an example, is a pl. tantum, though there is only one record to prove it. There certainly is a corresponding sg. word, too, but that is a word of different formation, viz. *ȝārwiȝa*.

Agential kennings in the n-tems.

The fact is that, by the side of the said *end*-nouns, there are generally also other words with the same meaning and of the same stylistic character, viz., *an*-formations, which I shall have an opportunity of dealing with more particularly in another part of my treatise, which is not yet worked out. These other words are

used quite as much in the sg. as in the pl., nay, even more in the sg. The following figures for the most important of these words with parallel formations among the *end*-nouns will show that such is, indeed, the case. I consider only *cpp.* words and *poetical* records.

Formations	Number of *sg.* records	Number of *pl.* records	Remarks
horn- bora	—	1	
mund ~	14	—	
rǣd ~	3	—	In prose often pl.
rēs ~	2	1	
wǣg ~	1	—	
wōð ~	5	1	
wrōht ~	2	—	
feorh ~	1 (Rä. 92,2)	—	
ān- flogа	1	—	
gūð ~	1	—	
lyft ~	1	—	
ūht ~	1	—	
wīd ~	2	—	
sǣ- lida	5	—	
æsc- wigа	1[1]	1	[1] Ms. æswigа B. 2042.
beorn ~	1	—	
byrn ~	2	1	
cumbol ~	1	1	
folc ~	—	1	
gār ~	2	—	
gūð ~	2[1]	—	[1] One, not given Gr.-K., Rä. 92,4.
lind ~	1	—	
ord ~	1	—	
rand ~	2	3[1]	[1] One, not given Gr.-K., Ex. 126.
scyld ~	1	—	
þēod ~	1	—	
wǣpen ~	1	—	[1] Cp. simplex wigа 18 × in sg., 22 × in pl.
	55	10	

Rules to be deduced.

I believe that the preceding tables provide evidence that the *poetical cp. end*-nouns had an intrinsic character of their own, which made them applicable almost exclusively to pl. ideas, whereas the corresponding *an*-formations possessed applicability to ideas of a more individual character: *sǣ-līðend(e)* were the 'seafarers, seafaring people' as an aggregate, *sǣ-lida* was the seafaring indi-

vidual. It cannot possibly be fortuitous, or simply due to metrical reasons, that the occurrence of the said *end*-nouns is so constantly restricted to the pl., when there are exactly corresponding formations of another type that are preferably used in the sg. Of particularly great value as evidence are such pairs as *feorhbora / feorhberend*, *lyftfloȝa / lyftflēoȝende*, *sælida / sælīðend(e)*, *byrnwiȝa / byrnwīȝend(e)*, *ȝārwiȝa / ȝārwīȝend*, *lindwiȝa / lindwīȝende*, *randwiȝa / randwīȝende*, in two of which cases, *byrn-* and *randwiȝa / -wīȝend*, the pl. idea, the collectivity, certainly is expressed by both words, but the sg. idea is expressed simply and solely by the *an*-words.

Summary. We are able now, after finishing our examination of the flexion of the *end*-nouns — especially of their adjectival forms —, to formulate the rules arrived at in the following way: *By the side of the clear substantival end-nouns with substantival flexion there are also adjectival ptcc. that can be used substantivally without change* of *flexion.*[1] As many of these adjectival ptcc. used substantivally form some very common cpp.-groups (*hycȝende*-cpp. a. o.), chiefly or exclusively used in poetical style, *the use of the adjectival ending -e of the napl. has been extended to several other poetical plural cpp. of the nature of kennings or variations; yet these are words which are real sb. (not adjs. used substantivally), but whose lack of a sing. form made them most susceptible to attraction from adjectival ptcc.; and in these words the adjectival and substantival (endingless) pl.-forms are used side by side, without any visible difference in meaning. From the cpp. the ending has also in three cases passed over into the corresponding simple words. In prose, the adjectival pl.-ending is met with a few times, chiefly in Ælfric, though it is rare outside words that are not original adjs., or which easily allow themselves to be explained as such. In the same author (seldom in other texts) the adjectival ending -um in the dsg. is also found two or three times.* As regards the distribution of endingless pl.-forms and forms in -as, see above, p. 97 ff.

Substantival ptcc. with weak adjectival flexion. To complete my investigation, I should, perhaps, also have treated of the substantival use of ptc. with *weak* adjectival form.

[1] Except in the asg., which never ends in *-ne* in ptcc. used substantivally. The above question should be viewed in a wider connection. There does not, unfortunately, exist for O. E. any work dealing with the *substantivization* of *ordinary adjs.*, and so it is not clear as yet to what extent these could be used as sb. In OHG. it is very common, 'nimmt einen grossen Raum ein', see Diemer, Substantivierung d. Adj. im Ahd., p. 90 ff.

Owing to lack of space, however, and because they are of less interest for the subject here dealt with, they will be omitted. And then it will also be more appropriate to treat of them along with an examination of the substantival use of adjs. in general. What interests us about them will, moreover, be given in its place, see p. 201 ff. Be it enough to state here that ptcc., by the side of which there exist no corresponding *end*-sb., are very often used as sb. with weak adjectival flexion, and that, as it seems, every O. E. ptc. might, if necessary, be used substantivally in that way.

Lexicographical results of the preceding investigation.

At the beginning of the above chapter, I stated that great inconsistency is prevalent in the *recording* of *end*-sb. in different dictionaries, and even in one and the same dictionary. I now propose to summarize the results arrived at from just that point of view, i. e., the point of view of the lexicographical form of the different words.

The number of *end*-nouns with recorded substantival forms amounts to some 200 (+ cpp.). They need not be enumerated here, since they will all be given in the treatment of *end*-nouns as nom. ag., in the following section of my treatise. They form what I call:

Type 1: helpend, sb. m. 'helper'.

Then there is a small group of participial nouns that are never recorded with substantival forms, but with retained adjectival flexion in substantival use. They were given above (p. 117), though, for most of the poetical cpp.-groups mentioned there, it is doubtful whether they should be given as sb. at all, since they appeared to be only nom. virtutis, which, in this particular case, means adj. used substantivally. One of the cited words, viz., *synwyrcende*, was also shown (p. 93) to exist in substantival form in the pl. These words form, as far they ought to be registered as sb. at all:

Type 2: drincende ptc. sb. m. 'drinker, one who drinks'.

The words, however, to which I have been particularly devoting my attention in the present excursus, should not, in my opinion, be entered as either of the types indicated, but should be

given as pl. sb. They form, consequently, a group apart, to be divided, moreover, into three subdivisions, viz.,

Type 3: a) ȝārwīȝend, sb. pl. 'spear-fighters, warriors'
b) reordberende, sb. pl. 'speech-bearers, men'
c) sǣlīðend(e), sb. pl. 'sea-farers, sailors'

An enumeration of the cases is uncalled for, since the words were all given above (pp. 86—95), cp. tables pp. 121—124. It may be discussed, however, whether a word should really be entered as type 3 a, when it is recorded with exclusively substantival forms, but there are parallel formations of it recorded with only adjectival forms, and perhaps other formations recorded with both forms. Take, e. g., the *wīȝend*-cpp. *ȝārwīȝend* has only substantival form; *rondwīȝende*, only adjectival; *byrnwīȝend(e)* occurs with both forms. It might, perhaps, be quite enough to use type 3 c, since the existence of only one of the forms is evidently quite fortuitous in such cases.

Words belonging to common cpp.-groups, but lacking records of probative force, i. e., words not recorded in na. but with parallel formations belonging to type 3, may safely be treated like the latter. Thus, for instance, from the record *sāwolberendra* (the only record of the word) we can safely register a sb. *sāwolberend(e)*, for cp. *reordberend(e)*.

For a very large number of substantival ptcc., however, the settling of the head-form is very difficult, or even impossible, since not only records of cases of probative force are lacking, but also parallel formations. It really seems as if ptcc. could be used as sb. more extensively in gen. and dat., chiefly in pl., than in the other cases, which would be rather natural, too, since those are the cases where the substantival and adjectival (verbal) forms coincide. Generally, we thus find ptcc., in substantival use when the L. original of the text has a corresponding expression, but sometimes also in other cases. I think that such ptcc., occasionally used as sb. in cases that do not prove anything for the existence of a sb., should not be entered as sb. in the dictionaries, but be given as ptcc., with a particular statement that they are in a certain case used substantivally. As there will certainly be various opinions on the character of many ptcc., it will be best to give an enumeration of the cases in question. I then disregard 1) gloss-instan-

ces, unless L. lemma is a sb., cp. p. 88, 2) gdpl.-forms only recorded as preceded by the def. art.; such cases can be regarded as having weak adjectival flexion.

A. Words occurring in the sg. (and sometimes in the pl.).

rædendes — legentis, coniectoris; *slæpendes* — dormientis [þam slæpendum]; *stelendes* — furantis;

clipiendes (*clipiendra*) — clamantis; *nellendes* — nolentis;

tæcendes — jubentis; *þrēaȝendes* — correctoris; *wuniȝendes* — habitatoris;

inlaðiendum — invitatori; *ātendendum* — accensore.

B. Words occurring only in the pl.

1) Poetical words.

lyftflēoȝendra; sceþþendra[1] 2 ×; *laȝuswemmendra; mōdblissiendra; byrnendra; cwāniendra; drīemendra; fēoȝendra; fricȝendra; āfyllendra; ȝnornendra; moldhrērendra; ālārendra; tūdortēondra; wincendra; dryht-, woruldwuniȝendra.*

2) Prose-words (+ glosses).

lēoȝendra — mentientum; *slītendra* — serpentium; *siȝendra* — psallentium (cp. þara siȝendra, siȝendum gl.); *unsprecendra* — infantium (literal transl.); *sūcendra* — lactantium; *blissiendra* lætantium; *āflīemendra* (vel wrōhtberendra) — excussorum; *ȝeōmriȝendra; hearpiȝendra* — timpanistriarum; *heofiendra* (cp. þa heofiendan); *maðeliendra* — contionatorum, i. rethorum; *pleȝȝendra* — timpanistriarum; *onspillendra* — parasitorum; *wordliendra* (see maðeliendra); *wrāstliendra* — luctatorum.

weȝfarendum (cp. þam infarendum, þam scipfarendum; þone wīdfarendan); *ondrādendum; ætstandendum* (cp. þam ymbstandendum) — circumstantibus; *dǣdbētendum* (cp. often se dǣdbētenda, þa dǣdbētendan) — poenitentibus; *ācennendum* (Du Ri) — parentibus; *fordēmendum* (Lind.) — accusatoribus; *hīenendum* (Lind.) — accusatoribus; *behrēowsiȝendum* (cp. þa ~ an, þara ~ ra); *ymb-*

[1] One prose-record (gl.) appears also, viz., *sceððendum*, gl. adversaris Du. Ri. 113_2, which gloss depends on a misunderstanding of the L. lemma, which is the 2nd pers. pr. conj. of the verb adversari, not dpl. of adversarius.

hrinȝendum (*ymbðrinȝendum*) — stipatoribus; *onlōciendum; andswariȝendum* — respondentibus; *tīenendum.*

Objective reasons for regarding some of the given words as sb., others as ptcc. occasionally used substantivally, can scarcely be found. Sometimes the semological character of the word makes its interpretation as sb. impossible. So, e. g., *nellendes*: an appellative ag.-n. from such a verb is not in accordance with O. E. usage. In other cases, where the word corresponds really to a L. sb. — not a ptc., in which case the accidental character of the substantival use of the ptc. is more obvious — and belongs to the common semological categories represented by this group, the word is most likely to have been felt as a pure substantival form. For such reasons, I regard as probable sb. the following of the given prose-words: *rādend, þrēaȝend, wuniȝend* (cp. *būend, eardiend*), *inlaðiend, ātendend* (cp. p. 118), *onspillend, fordēmend* (cp. *dēmend*), *āflīemend, hīenend, wrāstliend*, and perhaps a few others. On the other hand, the following, at least, are clear adj.: *blissiende, mōdblissiende, ȝeōmriȝende, ȝnornende, heofiende, wincende.* Some of the poetical instances are of quite the same structure as the words of type 3. I therefore suggest the entry as type 3, and perhaps 3 b, of the words *lyftflēoȝende, laȝuswimmende, ēfyllende, moldhrērende, dryht-* and *woruldwuniȝende, ālārend(e)*; Of the other poetical words, *sceððend* (cp. *sceaða, hettend*) is the one most likely to be a true sb.; as regards the others, it would hardly be advisable to register them as subst. At any rate, it ought to be specially pointed out when a word which is entered as a sb. is not recorded in a form that proves its substantival character, e. g., by adding in brackets that it occurs only in a certain case. Such a word as *lyftflēoȝende*, consequently, might be entered in the following way: *lyftflēoȝende, sb. pl. m. (only gpl)* 'birds'.

In fact, it is often a matter of slight importance whether the last mentioned words should be regarded as real sb. or not, since, for the most part, they are not common O. E. words, but only occasional creations of a translator or glossator; they only show the possibilities of the language and the productivity of the type.

Nomina agentis in -end.[1]

I. Function of nom. ag. obscured in O. E.

A few *end*-nouns have lost their agential meaning:

1) *by assuming a specialized concrete sense.* The formal connection with the verb is retained, but scarcely the semological one, though it might have been felt, if reflected upon.

swelȝend, f. m. (n.?), 'gulf, abyss, whirlpool': *swelȝan* 'to swallow'.

Records without marked gender: voragine *suelȝendi* Co. U. 271; vorago *swelȝend* Kent. gl. 449; Suppl. Ælfc voc 178[16]; Scint. 40 b; barathrum *squeliend* (read *sweliend*) Hpt. gl. 529 a_{14}; *swelȝend* Nap. gl. 1,5468; voragine deopnysse ȝrutte *sweliende* 1,4340; from leowsandene to *swelȝende*, ðanne fram *swelȝende* KCD. 657 III $227_{15, 16}$ (A. D. 987).

Records with fem. gender: sio ȝrundlease *swelȝend* Boeth. 19[7]; *sio swelȝend* þære upahæfenesse ('vortex of their elation') Past. 439[3]; to (fram) *ðære swelȝende* BCS 786 II $529_{8, 7}$ (A. D. 943); ðonon on *ða swelȝende* BCS. 1213 III 492_{10} (A. D. 968); to *ðære sweliende* of *ðære swelȝende* 660[15] (A. D. 975).

Records with masc. gender: On Wiȝmundes swelȝende; of *ðan swelȝende* BCS. III 120[10] (A. D. 956); of *ðæm swelȝende* 417_1; andlonȝ streames on ðone sweliend 417_1 (A. D. 965); voraginis *swyliendes* eadwindan Hpt. gl. 421 a_9; Nap. gl. 1,636 (Ms. H., N. *swelȝendes*); voraginis *swelȝendes* 7,42; barathrum voraginis and ȝrut *swelȝendes* New Aldh. gl. 22,23.

Record with neut. gender?: on þ swelȝend BCS. III 332_6 (A. D. 963).

J. Platt[2] maintains that this word was of *fem.* gender in *early* ("alt"), and of masc. and neut. gender in *late*, *O. E.* ("spät"), an opinion with which Sievers seems to agree.[3] As

[1] Continued from p. 82.

[2] Anglia VI 172.

[3] PBB. IX 253: "auf dessen Geschlechtswechsel Platt aufmerksam gemacht hat".

will be seen from the above records, this statement does not contain the whole truth. In early O. E. (Ælfred), it is true, the word appears only as fem., but in late O. E., it occurs both with masc. and fem. gender; indeed, the latest fem. record — gloss-records disregarded — is of a slightly later date (A. D. 975) than the latest masc. one (965); yet, in the Aldh. gl. (Hpt and Nap.), it seems to be only masc. Again, the neut. gender assumed by Platt (and Sievers) seems to me to be rather doubtful. It seems quite inexplicable in itself why such a word should assume neut. gender. The record referred to, viz. BCS. III 332_6 (A. D. 963), was given above: on *þ* swelȝend, in which case *þ* is read *þæt* by Platt. Now, in the short charter in question, the sign *þ* is used no less than 8 times in 8 lines for the conjunction *þonne* (as Birch prints it). I suppose, therefore, that in our case the symbol *þ* stands for the similarly sounding form, *þone*, of the definite article, and, consequently, that the passage in question affords another instance of the masc. gender of the word.[1]

ȝeswelȝend = prec. word; voragine *ȝeswelinde* ȝrutte ⁊ deopnysse Hpt. gl. 507 b^{19}.

2) *by being differentiated in form from the primitive word:*

fēond 'enemy, foe': *fēoȝan* 'to hate', Goth. *fijan*. Cp. Goth. *fijands*, O. H. G. *fi(j)ant*, *fient*, O. S. *fīond*, *fīund*, O. Frs. *fīand*, *fīund*, O. N. *fiandi*. The corresponding O. E. ptc. is *fēoȝende*, which is, like the inf. (*fēoȝan*), a secondary formation of the type of the *ō*-verbs; originally, the verb was an *ē*-verb, and the O. E. ag.-n. starts from a prim. Teut. form **fijēnd-*.[2]

The word, like the next, is extremely common in poetry and prose during the whole O. E. period.

frēond 'friend': *frēoȝan* 'to love', Goth. *frijôn*. Cp. Goth. *frijônds;* O. H. G. *friunt;* O. S. *friund;* O. Frs. *friōnd, friūnd;* O. N.

[1] The originally fem. gender might lead one to think that the word represents a totally different type, viz., the one discussed above (p. 78) (*þēofend*). There is, however, no necessity for such a supposition.

[2] For the explanation of the O. E. *fēond,* from the point of view of sound-development, see v. Helten, PBB. XV 467 f.; Bülbring, Ae. Elem. b. §§ 117, 118 and Anm. 3; Janko, IF. XX 246.

frændi; prim. Teut. **frīōnd-*, **frīūnd-*.[1] Cp. the O. E. ptc. *frēoȝende.*

Note also the collective words *ȝefīend* and *ȝefrīend!*

There is also another word that is obscured, perhaps not to the Anglo-Saxon, but at least to the etymologist, viz., the plant-name ***hwatend*** gl. Iris illirica Br. gl. 297[12]; Cl. gl. 430[10].

Leo, Ags. Glossar 591, gives the form *hwætend* and assumes connection with **hwasan, (hwēos;* inf. rather *hwǣsan*), which is impossible. Leo also gives a vb *hwātan* 'flare, spirare, schnauben, duften' with which it might be associated, if only there were any such verb (the other dictionaries do not mention it). There is a vb *hwatian* 'to practice divination', cp. *hwata* 'diviner, augur', but it is not clear why the plant should be called 'augur'. I can see no other possibility than to assume the existence, in O. E. or pre-Engl. times, of another vb **hwatian, (*hwatōi̯an)*, with much the same meaning as *whettan* 'to whet, urge, incite, excite', both formed from the adj. *hwæt* (**hwato*) 'quick, active, vigorous',[2] the name of the plant 'exciter, invigorator' referring to its aromatic qualities.[3] Cp. *hwer-hwette.*

II. Function of nom. ag. living in O. E.

A. Compound-groups.

1. Words occurring only in poetry.

a. Formations from strong verbs.

berend-cpp., occurring only in the pl.: *beran* IV 'to bear'.

æscberend, kenning f. 'warriors'; A. 47; 1076; 1537[4].

feorhberend(e) (only gpl.), kenn. f. 'men'; *ȝesecan sundor æȝhwylcne feorhberendra* Rä. 40,6; Gen. 1955.

[1] v. Helten, ibid., Bülbr. ibid.

[2] Cp. *ȝearwian* and *ȝierwan* 'to make ready': *ȝearo* 'ready'. It is commoner, it is true, for similar *ō*-vbs to be intr., and a vb **hwatian* would rather be expected to mean 'to be sharp'. One might think that the word might mean 'a thing that is sharp', the flower being denominated from its sharp, sword-like leaves (cp. Sw. *svärdslilja*), but there are to be found no *end*-nouns from such intr. vbs as are formed from adjs. In such cases, the adj. itself is used substantivally.

[3] Cp. Schrader, Reallexikon, pp. 44, 399.

[4] See above, p. 86.

ȝēstberend, kenn. f. 'men'; Rä. 21,8; Cr. III 1600; Cræ. 2.[1]

ȝārberend, kenn. f. 'warriors'; *ȝarberendra, ȝuðfremmendra* X hund ȝeteled tireadiȝra Ex. 231; By. 262.[1]

helmberend, kenn. f. 'warriors'; B. 2517; 2642;[1] ne rohte he to ðære hilde *helmberendra* Hö. 37.

reordberend(e), kenn. f. 'men'; Cross 3; 89; Cr. I 278; 381; III 1025; 1369; Dan. A. 123; A 419; E. 1281.[2]

sāwolberend(e) (only gpl.), kenn. f. 'men'; *sawlberendra* - - - niðða bearna, ȝrundbuendra ȝearwe stowe B. 1014.

seȝnberend(e) (only gpl.), kenn. f. 'warriors'; ne mæȝ mec oferswiðan *seȝnberendra* æniȝ Rä. 41,20.

sweordberende, kenn. f. 'warriors'; Gen. 1060.[3]

Of the poetical *berend*-cpp., consequently, 5 are kenn. for 'warriors', 4 for 'men'. In the latter case, *-berend* has almost assumed the character of a suffix. All records belong to the oldest O. E. literature, except *ȝarberend* in By.[4]

Cp. O. N. *hring-, rand-, seið-, skrǫk-, swerð-berendr,* sb. pl.; O. S. *helmberand, wāpanberand.*

drincende-cpp.: *drincan III* 'to drink'.

ealodrincende 'beer-drinkers', kenning for 'partakers of a banquet, guests'; B. 1945.[3]

lācende-cpp., chiefly used in the pl.: *lācan,* redupl. vb. 'to move quickly'.

dareðlācende 'javelin-brandishers, lance-warriors', kenn. f. 'warriors';[5] E. 37; 651, Pa. 53.[3]

faroðlācende 'sea-farer'; A 507;[6] Walf. 20;[3] se bið eft ȝemeted - - *fareðlacendum,* niðða ȝehwylcum Walf 5.

lyftlācende 'air-flyer, one (anything) sporting in the air'; Jul. 281 (variation of *þeȝn*);[6] Dan. 388 (variation of *fuȝelas*).[3]

A double interpretation of the *lācende*-cpp. is often possible, viz., as sb. or as app. ptcc. In some of the given cases, the latter interpretation may perhaps be preferable, or at least quite as justified.

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[1] See above, p. 86.

[2] See above, p. 91.

[3] See above, p. 94.

[4] Cp. for these words also Rankin IX, pp. 64—67.

[5] Cp. *lācan daroðum* 'to fight'.

[6] See above, p. 113.

līðend-cpp.; simple word sg. and pl.; cpp. only pl.: *līðan* I 'to go, travel', especially by sea.

līðend 'sailor',; B. 221;[1] *liðend* brohte / elebeames twiȝ an to handa / ȝrene blædæ Gen. 1472.[2]

brimlīðende 'sea-farers'; B. 568;[1] wicinȝa ar, se abead *brimliðendra* ærende to þam eorle By. 27.

ēalīðende 'sea-farers'; wæron hie on ȝescirplan scipferendum eorlas onlice *ealiðendum* A. 251.

heaðolīðende 'sea-warriors'; B. 1798[1]; þæt he sæmannum onsacan mihte *heaðoliðendum* hord forstandan 2955; A. 426.

merelīðende 'sea-farers'; B. 255; Gen. 1407;[1] A. 353.

sælīðend(e) 'sea-farers'; B. 397; 411; 1818; 2806; Walf. 48.[3]

wæȝlīðende 'sea-farers'; *weȝliðendum* wide ȝesyne B. 3158; Gen. 1395; 1432; Walf. 11.[1]

Cp. O. N. *líðendr,*[4] O. S. *lagulīðand, sēolīðand, wāglīðand* 'sea-farers'.

rædend-cpp.: rædan red. vb. 1) 'to rule' 2) 'to advise.'

rædend 'ruler' (of God); rodera *rædend* B. 1555; A. 627; 816; Edg. B. 23; swa is dryhten ȝod dreama *rædend* Pa. 55. — Sw. gives the word as poetical, quite rightly, but registers, at the same time, the sense of 'sooth-sayer', as well as 'ruler', which will be due to a misunderstanding of Pa. 55, or, perhaps rather, he has a gloss-record in his mind, see *rædend*, p. 178, which latter word I dissociate here altogether from the poetical *rædend* just dealt with.

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[1] Se above, p. 94.

[2] *nsg.*, thus, the traveller = the dove (BT.); *dsg.*, thus = Noah (Bouterw.). The latter interpretation accords better with the sense of the word as known from the other instances ('sailor' not very appropriate of the dove); besides, the expression *on handa* will scarcely be found without a dat. On the other hand, there are no instances of the dat. of *end*-nouns without an ending (see above, p. 117 f.) except in the Northu. dial., where such forms are common (Carpenter § 467); but as the poem is likely to have originated in Northumbria, this fact will not cause any insuperable obstacles to that interpretation.

[3] See above, p. 91.

[4] Jonsson, Skjaldesprog 67, who may often be consulted for the O. N. participial nouns.

maȝorædend 'adviser of men'; woldon *maȝorædendes* mod oncyrran (of Andrew) A. 1461.

selerædend 'hallrulers', kenn. for 'men'; B. 1346; A. 659[1]; men ne cunnon secȝan to soðe *selerædende* (Ms. *seïe rædenne*) hwa þam hlæste onfenȝ B. 51. — Gr.-K. translates the word by 'aulam administrans vel possidens', and the same sense is given by all O. E. lexicographers.[2] Cp. O. S. *rādand* (of Christ), O. N. *ráðandi* with cpp. *alls- jarð-, landráðandi.*

sittende-cpp., occurring only in the pl.: *sittan* V 'to sit'.

bencsittende, kenning for 'partakers of a banquet': hæleðum cweman, blissian æt beore *bencsittendum* Wy. 78; Jud. 27.[3]

burȝsittende 'town-dwellers, citizens', generally a kenning for 'men';[4] þæt is wide cuð *burhsittendum* Gen. 2815; folca bearn - - *burhsittende* Gen. 1086; Rä. 26,3; Gen. 2326; 2838; Dan. B. 299 = Az. 19; Dan. A. 660; 724; 730; Cr. I 337; A. 1201; E. 276; Metr. 27,17; Jud. 159[3]. — BT. wrongly regards it as an adj. in some of the passages quoted.

fletsittende 'hallsitter, courtier' (Sw.) 'court-resident' (BT.), 'in aula sedens' (Gr.-K.), 'partakers of a banquet, guests' (my own translation); B. 2022[3]; þa wæs eft swa ær ellenrofum, *fletsittendum* fæȝere ȝereorded - -, dryhtȝumum. Duȝuð - - B. 1788; þa yldestan þeȝnas - - his weaȝesiðas, bealde byrnwiȝȝende. Þær wæron bollan steape boren æfter bencum ȝelome, swylce eac bunan and orcas fulle *fletsittendum* Jud. 19; swa het se ȝumena aldor fylȝan *fletsittendum* 33.

[1] See above, p. 91.

[2] The sense of 'aulates' administranm', 'die einen Saal besorgen' (Holthausen) seems scarcely to be to the point, only 'aulam 'possidentes', die einen Saal besitzen', i. e., 'the independent subjects of the country', later as a kenning for 'men' in general —. Moreover, it may be questioned whether another interpretation is not possible, with the same meaning as in *maȝo-rædend*, thus 'advisers in the the hall, wise men in the hall'. The epithet *snottre* and the mentioning of *meðelstede* A. 659 — ȝewat in bold oðer, þær him toȝenes - - to þam meðelstede maniȝe comon, snottre selerædend — speaks, indeed, for such a supposition. In the other two records as well, it is the question of people telling, or being able to tell, something.

[3] See above, p. 94.

[4] Cp. Bode, Kenningar, p. 33.

To judge from the record B. 1788 and Jud. 19, it may even seem as if *fletsittende* were a mere variant of *þegnas*, with the sense of 'courtier'. But no more than *ellenrofe, dryhtguman, duguð, weagesiðas*, and *byrnwigende*, can this word be said to mean 'courtiers', because it is used of courtiers. In all the instances given, the *þegnas* are sitting in the hall, assembled at a banquet, and that is the reason why they are here called *fletsittende*, which is, accordingly, synonomous with *bencsittende* (see this word) and *heallsittende* (see next word). Indeed, *heallsittende* and *fletsittende* are used in the same context in B. 2015 and 2022, just as *bencsittende* and *fletsittende* in Jud. 19, 27, and 33. The word, consequently, denotes people sitting in a hall *on a certain occasion* (to partake of a banquet), not people of whom it is *characteristic* to sit in the hall (as being courtiers, *þegnas*).

heallsittende, kenning for 'partakers of a banquet'; ne seah ic widan feorh under heofones hwealf *healsittendra* medudream maran B. 2015; þonne on ealubence oft gesealde *healsittendum* helm and byrnan, þeoden his þegnum B. 2868.

ymbsittend 'neighbouring peoples'; B. 1827[1]; næs se folccyning *ymbsittendra* ænig þara 2734; E. 33; we synd gewordene wera cneorissum eallum edwitstæf *ymbsittendum* Par. Ps. 78,4; 88,34.

Cp. the prose-word *ymbsittend*, p. 144.

Cp. Goth. *bisitands* 'neighbour'.

wīgend-cpp.; simple word sg. and pl., cpp. only pl.: *wīgan* 'to fight', only recorded B. 2509, and as pr. ptc. in a few passages.

wīgend 'warrior'[2]; he manna wæs *wigend* weorð-fullost B. 3099; Men. 24; þonne *wiggend* onweccan Jud. 258; þam *wiggende* gesecgan E. 983; (þa) *wigend* B. 1125; 1814; 3024; 3144; F. 11; 49; Ex. 180; 328; Gen. 1411; A. 850; 1053; 1203; 1297; E. 106; By. 302; Jud. 69; 141; 313;[3] *wigendra* hleo B. 429; 899; 1972; 2337; A. 506; 896;

[1] See above, p. 86.

[2] Cp. in prose: hundtwelftig þusenda *wigendra manna* Assm. Ælfc p. 103,54. The usual prose-word is *cempa*.

[3] See above, p. 87.

1450; 1672; Cr. I 409; Edm. 12; *wiȝendra* þrym A. 887; 1572; *wiȝendra* þreat A. 1095; 1608; *wiȝendra* scola Metr. 26,31; cwæð to þam *wiȝȝendum* Jud. 283.

burȝwīȝend(e)? See next word.

byrnwīȝend(e) 'corslet-clad warriors', kenning for 'warriors'; ymbsittendra awer meahte abannan to beadwe *burȝwiȝendra* (Holthausen reads, certainly rightly, *byrnwiȝendra)* E. 224; ȝehlodon hildesercum, - -, *byrnwiȝendum*, werum and wifum wæȝhenȝestas E. 236; Hö. 38; Jud. 17.[1]

ȝārwīȝend 'spear-warriors', kenning for 'warriors'; B. 2641.[2]

lindwīȝende 'shield-warriors', kenning for 'warriors'; heape ȝecoste *lindwiȝendra* land ȝesohte E. 270; Metr. 1,13; Jud. 42.[3]

rondwīȝende = prec. word; randwiȝȝendra rim Ex. 435; ȝumena ȝehwæne þyssa burhleoda - - *rondwiȝȝendra* Jud. 188; Jud. 11; 20.[3]

sweordwīȝend(e) 'sword-warriors', kenning for 'warriors'; *sweordwiȝendra* side herȝas Ex. 260.

The first member of all *wīȝend*-cpp. denotes the weapon — and so *burȝwiȝendra* will certainly have to be emendated into *byrnwiȝendra* —, but is a mere epith. ornans, without any distinguishing character.

The word is common to all West Teut. languages: O. H. G. *wīgant*, O. S. *wīgand*, O. Frs. *wīgand*.

b. Formations from weak verbs.

aȝende-cpp.[4], chiefly occurring in the pl.: *āȝan* 'to possess'.

boldāȝende (only gdpl), 'house-owners', hardly more than a kenning for 'men'; ȝebeodan - - hæleða moneȝum *boldaȝendra* þæt hie B. 3112; him ræd witan *boldaȝendum* bæm ætsomne Exet. 93.

burȝāȝende (only gpl.), 'city-possessors', used as a kenning for 'kings'; þam æðelestan eorðcyninȝa *burȝaȝendra* E. 1174.

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[1] See above, p. 91.

[2] See above, p. 87.

[3] See above, p. 94.

[4] Simplex *āȝend*, too, is chiefly a poetical word, but occurs also in the Laws, and is therefore given under 2.

folcāȝende 'ruler, Herr einer Schar'; J. 186; B. 3113[1]; nis se foldan sceat - - monȝum ȝefere *folcaȝendra*[2] Ph. 5.

Substantival *āȝende*-cpp. with the semological character of concrete nom. virtutis are met with in *blǣdāȝende* 'prosperous men' B. 1013[1] and *mæȝenāȝende* 'strong men', 'strength-possessors' B. 2837[3].

būend-cpp.[4], occurring only in the pl.: *būan* 'to dwell; inhabit'.

ānbūend(e) (only gpl), 'people dwelling alone, anchorites, hermits', for which idea it will have to be regarded as a kenning[5]; eahteð *anbuendra* Guþl. A. 59.

ceasterbūend(e) (only dpl.), 'citizen'; Denum eallum wearð *ceasterbuendum* - - ealuscerwen B. 768.

eorðbūend(e) 'earth-inhabitants', kenning for 'men, people'[6], very common in O. E., as the following statistics will show[7]: F. 32; Gen. 1000; 1636; 1648; 1685; 1754; 1759; 2617; Ex. 84; Dan. A. 565; Rä. 30,8; Cr. I 422; II 719; III 1279; 1324; Sat. 1; Metr. 10,25,36; 11,18; 19,13; 26,94; 29,73; Geb. III 8; Par. Ps. 65,1, 7; 66,4; 82,14; 93,11; 95,4; 100,6; 101,13; 118,130; 134,5; Eadw. Ps. 93,10; Ben. Off. 64,11 = Credo 21; Dom. 129.

As for prose-records, see p. 144.

feorrbūend 'people dwelling far off'[8]; B. 254; Sal. 279.[9]

foldbūend(e) = *eorðbūend*; B. 309; 1355; 2274; Rä. II 13; Guþl. I 35; II 844; E. 1013; Az. 24; Cr. III 868; 1178; Hö. 101; 105; Past. (poem) II 2; Metr. VIII 4; XVII 2; 21; Credo 21; 22; Par. Ps. 64,10 = Ben. Off. 64,11, 12[8]

[1] See above, p. 94.

[2] Sweet reads *foldaȝendra*.

[3] Cp. above, p. 109.

[4] Simplex *būend* is a prose-word, see p. 147.

[5] Cp. also Mc Gillivray, Influence of Christianity, § 186 (§§ 262, 266).

[6] The word has been given as poetical, in spite of the existence of 4 prose records. The prose instances, however, occur for the most part in Ælfc., where the word may be regarded as a poetical loanword (cp. above, p. 102 f.). One instance, Wulfst. 137[24]: *eall Adames cynn eorðbuȝiendra*, is taken over directly from Dom. 129: *eal Adames cnosl eorðbuendra*, both originating in L. habitatores terræ, or something similar (cp. Rankin IX 64). For the poetical (kenning) character of the word also the fact speaks that it occurs 6 × in Metr., but not at all in the prose version of Boeth. Cp. foot-note 5 next p.

[7] Cp. above, p. 91.

[8] Cp. above, p. 92.

[9] Gr. reads *foldbuende*, which emendation is rejected by Sweet in his Collation, Anglia I 151.

ȝrundbūend(e) (only gpl.), = prec. word; sawlberendra - - - niðða bearna, *ȝrundbuendra* ȝearwe stowe B. 1006; Sal. 288.

hērbūend(e) (only gpl.), 'dwellers here on earth'; Jabal - - - *herbuendra* hearpan ærest handum sinum hlyn awehte Gen. 1079; Metr. 29,62; Jud. 96.

īeȝbūende 'islanders', kenning for 'Englishmen, Anglo-Saxons'; þis ærendȝewrit Agustinus ofer sealtne sæ suðan brohte *ieȝbuendum* Past. 9[8]; *iȝbuende*, Enȝle and Seaxe Men. 185; Edg. A. 4; B. 37.

londbūend(e) 'inhabitants of the country, of the earth', kenning for 'men, people'; se bið leofast *londbuendum* W. 132; B. 95; 1345; ælda bearn, *londbuendra* læstas Rä. 85,11; Sat. 684; he ȝedæleð - - missenlice - - leoda leoðocræftas *londbuendum* Cræ. 29; Jud. 226; 315.[1]

Cp. the prose-word *londbūend*, see p. 145.

nēahbūend(e) (only dpl.), 'neighbours'; ic eom wunderlicu wiht wifum on hyhta *nehbuendum* nyt Rä. 26,2.[2]

sundbūend 'earth-inhabitants', (not 'maris accolæ'),[3] kenning for 'men'; Cr. I 73; 221; Metr. 8,13; 24,21; 26,48.[1]

þēodbūend(e) (only gpl.), = prec. word; þær he earfeðu ȝeðolade fore þearfe *þeodbuendra* Cr. II 616; III 1173; 1372.

woruldbūende = prec. word; Metr. 8,35[4]; edlean on riht weorð be ȝeworhtum *weoruldbuendum* 27,27; 29,83; Jud. 82.

The poetical *būend*-cpp. thus turn out to be kennings for 'men, people', though a few of them are used in a somewhat restricted sense — *ān* ~, *feorr* ~, and *nēah* ~, *īeȝ* ~, *ceaster* ~ —, one, viz., *ȝrund* ~, in a wider sense, meaning 'living beings moving on the surface of the earth', as opposed to *lyftflēoȝende* and *laȝuswimmende*. As to L. words corresponding in sense, such as habitatores orbis, terræ, urbium; terrigenæ, ruricolæ, see Rankin.[5]

Cp. the simple word *būend* (prose-word); cp. O. N. *búandi*, O. S. *erthbūandi*.

[1] See above, p. 92.

[2] Cp. the prose-word *nēahȝebūr*.

[3] See Cosijn, Anglosaxonica IV PBB. 23,109.

[4] See above, p. 94.

[5] JEG. Ph. IX 64 ff., 67. — That it is influence from the L. which is the cause of the frequent use in O. E. religious poems of *būend*-cpp. seems fairly clear,

fēre̊nd-cpp.; simple word sg. and pl.; cpp. only pl.: *fēran* 'to march, travel, sail'.

fēre̊nd, 'one who marches, messenger, sailor'; Rä. 84,5[1]; J. 60; Walf. 25.[2]

scipfēre̊nd(e) (only dpl.), 'seafarers, sailors'; A. 251.[3]

wīdfēre̊nde 'people going afar, coming from far off'; A. 279; Az. 130[4]. — Verges on a concr. nom. virt.

fremmende-cpp., occurring almost exclusively in the pl.: *fremman* 'to perform, make, do'.

æfremmende, 'fulfillers of the law, lawful people'; J. 648.[4]

firenfremmende, (only gpl.), 'sinners, sinfull people'; for ælda lufan *firenfremmendra* fela þrowode Cr. III 1118.

ȝūþfremmende (only gpl.), 'warriors'; leafnesword *ȝuðfremmendra* B. 246; 299.[5]

heaðofremmende, 'warriors'; E. 130.[4]

mānfremmende, 'sinner(s)'; J. 137[6]; arleasra spatl of muðe onfenȝ *manfremmendra* Cr. III 1437; Ph. 6.

nāhtfremmende (only gpl.), 'evildoers', properly 'people who do nothing', cp. other cpp. with *nāht-*, e. g., *nāhtȝītsung* 'wicked avarice'; ȝenere me fram niðe *nahtfremmendra* þe her unrihtes ealle wyrceað Par. Ps. 58,2 = Ben. Off. 68[27] — L. eripe me de operantibus iniquitatem.

rihtfremmende 'people who do right, righteous men'; haliȝra blod *ryhtfremmendra* J. 8; Cr. III 1656; Ph. 632.[4]

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and to this may possibly be traced their origin, too, — indeed, the existing prose word *londbūend* shows a different sense from that of the poetical *londbūend* and the other *būend*-cpp. — But the explanation given by Rankin for the occurrence of *būend*-cpp. in B., Wids. and F. — that they are due to the colloquial and everyday character which these words adopted very early — must decidedly be rejected. It is in itself most unlikely, and even absurd, that the Anglo-Saxons should have used such expressions as 'earth-dwellers' for 'men, people' in everyday speech, when they had other current words. And then, if they had, we should expect to find some evidence of their use in prose, but we do not. Cp. footnote, p. 139. Indeed the difficulty involved disappears altogether by assuming, as will now be generally done, that Gen. is the oldest piece of O. E. poetry.

[1] Cp. above, p. 111.

[2] See above, p. 87. — Not used in prose, where we find the cp. *weȝfēre̊nd* (see p. 145) instead, and the weak adjectival form *se fēre̊nda*, which will also be the form intended in such an ambiguous case as: axsode from *ðæm ferendum* minra wicstowa Ep. Alex. Arist. 408.

[3] See above, p. 135, example under *ēaliðend!*

[4] See above, p. 95.

[5] Ms. *ȝodfremmendra*, corrected by Holtzmann, Germ. 8,490.

[6] See above, p. 113.

tilfremmende (only gpl.), = prec. word; hrinȝ on hyrede hælend nemde *tilfremmendra* Rä. 60,7.

wōhfremmende (only dpl.), 'evildoers'; drihten ametan wolde wrece be ȝewyrhtum *wohfremmendum* Metr. 9,36.

Only one sg. record was found, viz. *mānfremmende* J. 137, the substantival character of which form is uncertain. I regard all the words printed in small type as concr. nom. virt., consequently only *ȝūð-* and *heaðofremmende* as true ag.-n.

hæbbende-cpp., cpp. occurring only in the pl.: *habban* 'to have'.

hæbbend(e?), only gsg. 'possessor'; bæm wæs on siððe *hæbbendes* hyht Rä. 65,3.

bordhæbbende 'shield-bearers'; B. 2895.[1]

lindhæbbende = prec. word; B. 245[1]; ȝumfeða stop *lindhæbbendra* B. 1042.

rondhæbbende (only gpl.), = prec. word; oðer nænih selra nære *rondhæbbendra* rices wyrðra B. 861.

searohæbbende 'armour-clad people'; hwæt syndon ȝe *searohæbbendra*, byrnan werede B. 237; A. 1468; 1528[1]; Pharao 6.

The poetical *hæbbende-cpp.*, accordingly, are all kennings for 'warriors'. Perhaps *daroðhhæbbende*, nsg., J. 68, *drēamhæbbendra* Gen. 81, and *eardhæbbendra* Par. Ps. 86,6 can be interpreted as substantival, too, though I think they will be preferably regarded as app. ptcc. — *-hæbbende* does not retain much of its — even originally — very weak and colourless meaning, and is, indeed, little more than a suffix, meaning '*having, possessed of*'. For my part, I am therefore inclined to regard all the given cpp. as concr. nom. virt., though verging on nom. ag., and have marked them above as nom. virt.

Cp. O. N. *hafendr* in *sigr-hafendr* 'victors' (Eg.)

hycȝende-cpp.: *hycȝan, hoȝian* 'to think (of)'.

bealohycȝende (only gpl.), 'people meditating evil'; æȝhwæðrum wæs - - *bealohycȝendra* - - broȝa fram oðrum B. 2565.

ȝlēawhycȝende 'wise man'; J. 252.[2]

ȝramhycȝende 'fierce, hostile people'; Par. Ps. 68,25.[1]

nīðhycȝende = prec. word; Cr. III 1110; Jud. 233[1]; wealden ȝod *niðhycȝendra* heafdas feonda her ȝescæneð Par. Ps. 67,21.

rǣdhycȝende 'one thinking of advice, prudent man'; Fä. 26.[3]

wiðerhycȝende 'hostile man'; A. 1172; E. 951[3]; A. 1072.[1]

The *hycȝende*-cpp. are decidedly adjectival and not nom. ag. By their side are often to be found synonymous formations with *-hyȝdiȝ*.

Cp. O. N. *samhyggjendr* 'consentientes' (Eg.).

wuniȝende-cpp.[4], occurring only in the pl.: *wunian* 'to live, dwell'.

[1] See above, p. 95.

[2] See above, p. 113.

[3] See above, p. 114.

[4] Cp. Rankin IX 65.

dryhtwuniende (only gpl.), 'dwellers among people', kenning for 'men, people'; aȝne spede, þara æȝhwylc mot *dryhtwuniendra* dæl onfon Cræ. 7.

woruldwuniende (only gpl.), 'dwellers in the world', kenning for 'men'; þara micles to feola *woruldwuniendra* winð wið ȝecynde Metr. XIII 17.

wyrcend-cpp. : wyrcan 'to work, perform'.

wyrcend 'worker', see further, p. 147. Poetical only in connection with a word meaning sin : *facnes wyrcend* Par. Ps. 100,3; *unrihtes wyrcend* 70,3. In its ordinay prose meaning of 'worker, maker', it is used once poetically, viz. Par. Ps. 113,17.

firenwyrcende 'sinners'; me of folmum afere *firenwyrcendra* Par. Ps. 70,3; 72,2.[1]

scyldwyrcende 'sinner'; J. 445.[2]

synwyrcend(e), 'sinner'; E. 395; 943; Cr. III 1105;[3] bið æȝhwylcum *synwyrcendra* Cr. II 842; Par. Ps. 81,2; 140,11.[3]

The poetical *wyrcend-cpp.* are all kennings for 'sinner', and as there is no proper subst. in O. E. to express the idea, they might perhaps rather be regarded as concr. nom. virt. Note, however, the substantival flexion Cr. III 1105. Cp. also above, p. 109, and cp. *fremmende*-cpp.

Cp. O. N. *yrkjendr* (Skjaldesprog 68).

2. Prose words.[4]

a. The prose word is a cp.

α) Formations from strong verbs.

bęrend-cpp., cp. above p. 133 f.

lēohtberend 'lightbearer', used of Lucifer, of which, accordingly, it is a literal translation; Sat. 367;[5] Ælfc Hom. I 10_{14}; Ælfc de Test. 2^{35}; Ælfc gr. 27^{14}; Wulfst. 306^{24}.

drincende-cpp., cp. above, p. 134.

drincende, see p. 146.

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[1] See above, p. 95.

[2] See above, p. 114.

[3] See above, p. 93.

[4] The words are considered as prose words, provided they are recorded in prose, with or without parallel poetical use (or use in glosses).

[5] See above, pp. 111, 115.

windrincende 'one who drinks wine', translating potator vini WS. Gosp. Mt. 11,19.[1]

līðend-cpp., cp. above p. 135.

sciplīðende 'shipfarers, sailors'; Mart. 84[13,18]; þa þe *scyplīðendum* nydþearflicu ȝesewen wæron — L. navigantibus Bd V 947; L. S. 33,188.[2]

sittend-cpp., cp. above, p. 136.

onsittend[3] 'one who sits upon (a horse), a rider': *onsittan* 'to occupy', not recorded with exactly the meaning of 'to ride', but cp. *onsetl* 'riding' (Sw.); þa *onsittend(as) (-an)* þara horsa — L. sessores Greg. 15[10].[4]

ymbsittend 'surrounding people', cp. in poetry 'surrounding peoples, neighbouring nations;[5] þa þær wuniendan mæniȝu his *ymbsittendra*, he ȝeciȝde daȝa ȝehwylce to þam rihtan ȝeleafan Greg. 122[1]; bysceope and hine ȝrette and *þa ymbsittend* — L. salutavit episcopum et convivas Bd V 513.

Sittend-cpp., consequently, occur in prose only, if the 1st member of the cp. is a preposition, and only as long as there is a corresponding compounded verb. But even then, prose seems to prefer an adjectival form, the words being inflected like weak adj.; such is the case in some of the Mss. in the passages quoted, and also exclusively in some other cases, e. g., Bd. IV 1497: þa frunan hi *þa ymbsittendan* — L. a circumsedentibus; Ap. Tyr. 26[19]; 27[25]. Note also such ambiguous cases, as sæȝde to *þam sittendum* Ælfc Hom. I 182$_{18}$.

β) Formations from weak verbs.

būend-cpp., cp. above p. 139.

eorðbūende 'earthdwellers'; ealle *eorðbuende* sind to nahte ȝetealde Ælfc Hom II 434[14]; 124[16]; bæd þone ælmihtiȝan ȝod þæt he renas forȝeafe *eorðbuȝiendum* L. S. 18,144; Wulfst. 137[24].

Poetical loan-word in O. E. religious prose, cp. pp. 102, 139, footnotes.

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[1] Cp. above, p. 114.
[2] Cp. above, pp. 96, 102.
[3] Not given in any dictionary.
[4] Cp. above, p. 89.
[5] Cp. above, p. 137.

londbūend 'cultivator of land, husbandman, tiller' (cp. poetical *londbuend* p. 140); ðæm scipmannum is beboden ȝelice and ðæm *landbuendum* þæt ealles þæs þe him on heora ceape ȝeweaxe Eccl. Inst. 432 XXXV (heading of the piece: þe be cypinȝum libbað); gl. agricola colonus Lind. 11×.[1]

fērend-cpp., cp. above, p. 141.

weȝfērend 'traveller'; ȝif þu nu wære *weȝferend* and hæfdest micel ȝold on þe Boeth. 33^{9}; 33^{14}; oðer *weȝferend* hine sylfne to him ȝeþeodde Greg. 128^{9}; 314^{12}; for *weȝferendra* ȝecelnesse — L. viantium Bd. II 1710 O. T; quasi viator swa *wiferend* Kent. gl. 137;[2] Ælfc Hom. I 254_{7}; II 90^{16}; 448_{13} = Hiob IV (31^{32}); Basil fil. spir. 38^{5}; gloss. viator Scint. 187^{6}; 225^{10}.

Occurs once in poetry, viz., Par. Ps. 88,34.[3]

hæbbende-cpp., cp. above, p. 142.

landhæbbende 'landowner' "(in adliger Weise) grundbesitzend, Eigner (über bäuerlichen Hintersassen)" (Liebermann); Ine 45; Ine Rb 64 Ld; tribunus *londhæbbende* uel his cynnes latwu Du. Ri. 193(9).

Originally an adj., used in these cases substantivally. In Du. Ri., it must not be regarded as a translation of the L. lemma, only an explanation of it, an attempt at rendering its signification.

hycȝend-cpp., cp. above, p. 142.

forhycȝend, forhoȝiend 'despiser': *forhycȝan* 'to despise'; he wæs þearfena lufiend and his sylfes *forhoȝiend* — L. contemptor sui Greg. 329^{13}; ðone *forhycȝend* ura ȝoda — L. sacrilegum Bd I 334; Int R. Ben. 15^{13}.

oferhoȝiend = prec. word: *oferhoȝian* 'to despise'; his yldrena ȝeboda *oferhoȝiend* — L. contemptor R. Ben. 48^{6}.

The character of *for-* and *oferhoȝiend (-hycȝend)* differs from that of the poetical *hycȝende-cpp.* in the same way as did *on-*

[1] See Cook, Glossary.

[2] Zupitza, ZfdA. XXI10, explains *wifarend* < *weȝfarend* by a reference to the common change of *iȝ* > *ī* in this gloss-collection. Cp. also Bülbring § 505. In this case, however, the rule in point is not applicable; *weȝfarend* ought to appear as *weifarend* in Kent. Probably the first syllable has simply been miswritten on account of the L. word (viator) to be glossed.

[3] Cp. above pp. 95, 96, 102, 113, 117, 141 (note 2).

and *ymbsittend* from the poetical *sittende*-cpp., i. e. the first members are prepositions, and corresponding cp. verbs exist, from which they are formed directly. Cp., for instance, *wiðerhycȝende* 'hostile, adversary' = *wiðer* + *hycȝende*, not *wiðerhycȝ-* + *-ende* (but *forhycȝ-* + *-ende*), in which latter case the word would have shown the form *wiðhycȝend*: *wiðhycȝan* 'to reject, despise', and would have meant 'despiser'.

wyrcend-cpp., cp. above, p. 143.

wyrcend, see below, p. 147.

efenwyrcend 'co-operator'; Adrianus abbud, se wæs *efenwyrcend* on ȝodes worde ðære eadiȝan ȝemynde Theodorus — L. cooperator in verbo dei Theodori Bd V 2852.

welwyrcende, adjectival ptc., used substantivally, 'well-doing, well-doers'; eallum *welwyrcendum* Blickl. Hom. 137[14].

b. Prose word the corresponding simplex.

α) Formations from strong verbs.

drincende 'one who drinks'; *drincende* wines Ru.[1] 11,19; þær bið *drincendra* dream se micla Wy. 79.[1]

β) Formations from anomalous and weak verbs.

āȝend 'possessor', in poetry almost exclusively of God, for whom it is a common kenning, either standing alone or combined with *wuldres*, *līfes*, *siȝores*, *sweȝles*; in prose, a law-term for the sense of which (sometimes 'Eigentümer', not 'Besitzer'), see Liebermann 2: 1. Used of God in the following cases: Ex. 295; A. 210; 1715; 760; J. 223; Cr. 420; 471; 513; 543; 1198; Sat. 678; Kent. Hy. 3; Sch. 55. Used of earthly possessors: Gen. 1353; B. 3075; Abt. 82; Hl. 1, 3, 7, 16,3; Wi. 27; gloss. possessor Kent! gl. 543.

Note the combination, *āȝendfrēa* or *āȝenfrēa* 'Eigentümer', in which last form a loss of the *d*, according to the sound-law given in Bülbring § 533, is certainly not to be assumed, cp. O. N. *eigumaðr* (: *eiga* 'Eigentum') and *eigandismaðr*, and M. H. G. *eigenherr*, Bayr. *aigenherr*: O. E. *āȝen* 'Eigentum'.[2] The cited word occurs a

[1] See above, pp. 116, 127.

[2] See Max Förster, Arch. 116,370 footnote.

few times, e. g., Greg. 254[38] *(aȝenfrean);* 258[19] *(aȝendfrea);* Gen. 2141; 2237 (*aȝenfrea*).

Cp. O. N. *eigandi*, pl. *eigendr*; cp. poetical *āȝende*-cpp., p. 138.

būend 'inhabitant', only once in poetry, viz., Gen. 89: *buendra* leas; a few times in prose: Ags. Chron. 3[4];[1] be þam *buȝendum* his eardunȝstowe — L. de habitatore R. Ben. 4[22]; Ælfc Hom. $122\frac{20}{15}$; chiefly in glosses: Lind., gloss. cultor, colonus 6×[2]; Du. Ri. 98(1); accola landleod *buȝend* Cl. gl. 343[43]; 522[11]; indigena *bugintð* New Aldh. gl. 232; Hpt. gl. 458 b; gl. accola, habitator, colonus, indigena Nap. gl. 1,2230; 5,17;[3] 7,292; 8,220.

Cp. poetical *būend*-cpp. p. 139 ff. and cp. O. N. *búandi.*

wyrcend 'worker; creator'; also in poetry, see p. 143; deofol is yfel tihtend and leas *wyrcend* Ælfc Hom. I 102[2]; ȝod - - - *wyrcend* heofenan and eorðan II 596$_8$ (mæsse creda) = Nic. Symb. Angl. I 286: ȝod fæder almihti *wurchend* heouene and eorðe; unrotnysse þe is deaðes *wyrcend* Ags. Min. 11,113 (Angl. XI 43); gl. operarius Lind. 6×[2]; gl. factor (operis) Du. Ri. 29(30).

3. Glosswords.

a Formations from strong verbs.

berend-cpp., cp. above, pp. 133 f., 143.

berend 'bearer, carrier'; gestator *berend* Germ. 393,149; gerula *berend* Cl. gl. 414[16]; 505[29]; geruli *berend* 414[24]; 527[25].

ēwiscberend, properly 'shame- bearer', used of 'middle finger' impudicus *ēwiscberend* midmesta finȝer Cl. gl. 264[42]. By Sw. and BT. regarded as an adj., 'shameful'. The word is, however, evidently a subst. created to render the L. designation in question, just like *hālettend*, etc. The middle finger had obtained that meaning "als dem männlichen Gliede ähnlich" (Georges)(?).

discberend, 'dish-bearer, waiter'; gloss. discifer Cl. gl. 387[21]; 503[21]; 527[4].

sīðberend 'scythe-carrier, a mower'; falcarius, i falciferens uel falcifera *siðberend* uel mæðre Harl. gl. 235[3]. — The

[1] See above, p. 87.

[2] See Cook, Glossary.

[3] "Colonus bu" (Ms.).

alternative gloss shows that a 'mower' is meant, but it shows, too, that *siðberend* was not a usual O. E. word, only a literal rendering of a L. word.

tācnberend 'standard-bearer'; gl. signifer Ælfc gr. 27[15].

taporberend 'acolyte'; gl. accolitus[1] Int. Cons. Mon. 759; 840.

wǣpenberend 'soldier'; gl. armatus Lind. Lk. I 7,5; 11,21.

wæterberend 'water-carrier'; lixarum coetibus, i. mercenariorum qui aquam portant *wæterberendra*, marg. þran[ȝum] Hpt. gl. 427 a[14]; lixarum *wæterberendra* Nap. gl. 1,871.[2]

wæxberend 'acolyte'; cerarius *wex biorende* Du. Ri. 195[8].[1]

wrōhtberend 'accuser'; excussor, accusator *wrohtberend* Harl. gl. 233[26]; cp. excussatio lad ladunȝ uel wroht ibid. 233[27].[3]

yfelberende, 'an evilspeaking person', perhaps only an adj.; nugegerulus *ybilberende* Nap. gl. 53,16.[4]

Hence we find that the *berend-cpp.* — with the exception of *lēohtberend*, which borders on a proper name — are either poetical words or gloss-words. The latter quite bear the stamp of being occasional formations, as literal translations of L. words, which character we have, indeed, an opportunity of observing in most of them (*sīðberend* etc.).

rādend-cpp., cp. above, p. 135 f.

ȝerādend 'disposer', cp. *rādend;* (operis esto) dispositor *ȝirædend* Du. Ri. 108[16].[5]

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[1] Duca. quotes Isidor: acolyti Græcæ, Latine ceroferarii dicuntur, a deportandis cereis, quando Evangelium legendum est aut sacrificium offerendum: tunc enim accenduntur luminaria ab eis et deportantur. Cp. also BT. *weaxberende*, and Gillivray §§ 171, 172.

[2] Cp. *lixe*, *lixiones* in Duca. Cp. *lixarum medwyrhtena* Nap. gl. 4,24 and Napier's foot-note ibid.

[3] *excussor* in Med. L. means 'parricida, homicida, latro', but the gloss 233[27] makes it clear that the glossator identifies *excussor* and *excusator*. Then, however, he is guilty of confusion when identifying *excussor* (= excusator) and *accusator* (233[26]), and when rendering *excussatio* (233[27]) with *wroht*, as well as with *lad*, *ladunȝ*. *Wrōhtberend*, of course, means 'accuser, one who brings an accusation'; it corresponds to L. *accusator*, but has nothing to do with L. *excusator*.

[4] *Nugigerulus*, turpis nuncius, mendaciorum nuncius (Duca). — "Nugigerulus occurs glossed 'turpis nuntius' (cp. Loewe, Psodr. Corp. Glos. Lat p. 260). which explains the Engl. gloss" (Nap. foot-note to 53,16.)

[5] The editor puts a sign of interrogation after the O. E. gloss, to which Skeat remarks that only the *ȝi-* is indistinct, but that the rest is clear.

b Formations from weak verbs.

būend-cpp., cp. above pp. 139, 144.

inbūend 'inhabitant'; colonus, i. incola, cultor, inquilinus bi-ȝenȝa tilia, *inbuend* Harl. gl. 210[18]; inhabitator *inbyend* Du. Ri. 104$_4$; cp. inbyeð inhabitat Lind. Mt. 23,21. The word certainly never existed apart from glosses in which it is used to give a literal(!) translation of *in*habitator, *in*cola *(habitator: buend = inhabitator: inbuend)*, cp. *in-*, *oneardiȝend,* see p. 162.

hæbbende-cpp., cp. above, pp. 142, 145.

heofonhæbbend 'ruler of heaven, God'[1]; arcitenens heofon-hæbbend Cl. gl. 355[21].

Concerning this word, Wr. W. makes (in a note ibid.) the following remark: "Another example of the singular blunders made by those ags. glossators and of the state of learning exhibited in the ordinary schools. Arcitenens, the archer, was most probably in the book from which this word was taken, used as an epithet of Apollo, but the writer of the gloss supposed it to be formed from arx insted of arcus". The editor of the gloss is quite wrong in this supposition. The gloss doubtless refers to the same passage as a similar and synonomous word, viz. *heofonwealdend*, see p. 180, and thus goes back to Aldh. Ænigmata XIV v. 19[2] gloss. *pater arcitenens.*[3] Hence we find that it is not the O. E. glossator, as W. presumes, who has misinterpreted his Latin, but Aldhelm, who does employ the L. word arcitenens of the Christian God, in the sense of 'the holder of heaven', cp. ibid. v. 12: Deus æthrali summus qui regnat in arce.

hycȝend(e)-cpp., cp. above pp. 142, 145.

fyrnhycȝend 'harlot'; scortorum *fyrnhicȝedra* miltistrena, marg. *framhicȝendra* (Bouterwek: "r. *fyrnhicȝendra*") Hpt. gl. 484a$_6$; scortarum, i. meretricum *fyrnhicȝcendra* Nap. gl. 1,3327; 2,192.

[1] Not given in Sw. or Cl. H.; BT. enters *heofonhæbbende* citing Lye.

[2] Ed. Migne, Patres Latini LXXXIX 198.

[3] The Latin text runs as follows: omnia quæque polo sunt subter et axe reguntur / dum pater arcitenens concessit, iure guberno. In the O. E. translation given Rä. 41,33—35 this is simply expressed thus: eal ic under heofones hwearfte recce / swa me leof fæder lærde at frymðe / þæt ic ða mid ryhte reccan moste.

Napier[1] is no doubt right in explaining this (and some similar formations) as being due to popular etymology, there having existed originally a nom. ag. fem. in *-icȝe*, viz. *fyrenicȝe*, which was attracted by the verb *hycȝan* and its cpp. — *morðorhycȝende* etc. — so as to assume the form *fyrnhycȝe*. That form really exists; it is recorded Nap. gl. 1,2940, with the corresponding masc. *fyrnhycȝa*, recorded Germ. 389, but was soon altered into conformity with the other, more or less agential, derivatives from *hycȝan*, thus becoming the said *fyrnhycȝend*.

wunigende-cpp., cp. above, p. 142.

wunigend (only gsg), 'inhabitant'; habitatoris (officium) *wunigendes* Int. R. Ben. 5[11].

wyrcend-cpp., cp. above, pp. 143, 146.

winwyrcend, 'vine-dresser', gloss. vinitor Lind. Mt. I 21[8].

B. Isolated compounds and Simple words.

1. Words occurring only in poetry.

a) Isolated compounds.[2]

α) Formations from strong verbs.

æftercwǒeend (only gpl), 'post mortem laudantes' (Gr.-K.), 'posterity' (Sw.); þæt eorla ȝehwam æftercweðendra lof lifȝendra lastworda betst Seef. 72.

hearmcweðend 'calumniator', like the previous word : *cweðan* V 'to speak'; Par. Ps. 71,5.[3] — Perhaps the word is wrongly classified as poetical, since it occurs also as a gloss of calumniatorem in some of the Ps. glosses ibid., in which case, however, it never exhibits substantival form (*hearmcweðendne* Jun. Ps. 71,4; þone earmcweðendan Ar. Ps. ibid.).[4]

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[1] Nap. gl. 1,2940 foot-note.

[2] Only as far as poetry is concerned do I retain a distinction between isolated compounds and simple words, the isolated cpp. often being, in poetry, on a par, morphologically and semologically, with the words of the above-discussed cpp.-groups.

[3] See above p. 86.

[4] V. Ps. has *hearmcweoðendra*, gpl, as if *ȝeeaðmodan* governed the gen. case. The glossator has evidently mistaken *calumniatorem* for *calumniatorum*.

wiðerfeohtend 'adversary' : *wiðfeohtan* III 'to fight against, oppose'; ȝað fromlice þæt ȝe *wiðerfeohtend* wiȝes ȝehnæȝan (used by the devil of Andrew) A. 1183; J. 664.[1]

Cp. prose *wiðfeohtend*, which is the form to be expected. The form of the preposition will be due to such commoner ag.-n. as *wiðerbreca, -saca, -winna, -weard.*

lyftflēoȝende (only gpl.), 'flyers in the air', kenning for 'birds' : *flēoȝan* 'to fly'; ȝrundbuendra, *lyftfleoȝendra*, laȝuswemmendra ðria ðreoteno þusendȝerimes Sal. 289.[2]

Cp. O. N. *fliúgendr.*

frumsprecend 'prince, leader, lord'[3] : *sprecan* V 'to speak'; drihten - - sæȝde þam þe *frumsprecend* folces wæron eallum swylce — L. populorum suorum et *principum* eorum, Par. Ps. 86,5. The word is thus found to be used as equivalent to L. princeps, in the Ps. gl. glossed by *aldor, aldormann* etc., and will, accordingly, mean 'prince, lord'; cp. Sw. *ordförande*, G. *Wortführer* 'president in a deliberating assembly, *speaker*'.

laȝuswimmende (only gpl), 'swimmers in the sea'; kenning for 'fish'; Sal. 289 (see above *lyftflēoȝende*).

waldend-cpp., not occurring as a group in O. E. : *wealdan* redupl. vb, 'to rule'.

wealdend, see p. 159.

oferwealdend 'supreme Lord', kenning for (name of) God; þa þe ricesða ealles *oferwealdend* earme beþeahte E. 1235.

β) Formations from weak verbs.

mōdblissiende (only gpl), 'rejoicing people' : *blissian* 'to rejoice'; meniȝfeald þusend *modblissiendra* Par. Ps. 67,17.

ȝōddōnd 'benefactor' : *dōn* 'to do'; næs þa *ȝoddoend* se ðe ȝod wiste ne an furðum ealra wære Par. Ps. 52,2; onȝitað hira *ȝoddend*, nales - - feoȝað frynd hiera E. 359.

æfyllende (only gpl), 'fulfillers of the law' : *fyllan* 'to fulfil'; seo circe *æfyllendra* (ecclesia Christiana) Cr. II 704.

mæðelhēȝende 'attenders of a council' : *hēȝan* 'to perform, achieve' A. 609; 1096[4]; hwæt se manna wæs *meðelheȝendra* þe he þær on waroðe wiðþinȝode A. 262; þonne moniȝe beoð *mæðelherȝendra*

[1] See above, p. 86.

[2] Cp. *fleȝendo* volatilia Du. Ri. 118,7,4; 147, and some other passages.

[3] Not given in any dictionary.

[4] See above, p. 95.

wlonce wiȝsmiðas winburȝum in Mod. 13., where *mæðelherȝendra* should undoubtedly be read, as by Grein, as *mæðelheȝendra.*

In A. 262 it may possibly be interpreted in another way, and the other passages, too, are a little uncertain.

oferhelmend 'prevaricator' : *oferhelmian* 'to cover, overshadow' ic *oferhylmend* ealle ȝetealde þa on eorðan her yfele wæron Par. Ps. 118,119.

hettend-cpp., not occurring as a group in O. E. : *hatian* 'to hate', formed in pre-English times, when the verb was still an *e*-verb, cp. Goth. *hatan*, O. H. G. *hazzên.*[1] As poetical word only pl.; one prose-record exists for the simplex and that is sg.[2]

hettend 'enemy'; B. 1828; 3004; Ex. 209; Gen. 2011; 2110;[3] wið *hettendra* hildewoman wearde healden J. 663; E. 18; 119; A. 31; Æðelst. 10; Ph. 441; Sal. 172.[4]

ealdhettende 'enemies of old'; Jud. 321.[5]

Cp. O. N. *hatendr*, O. S. *hatand*, *hettend.*

moldhrērende (only gpl), 'beings moving on earth' : *hrēran* 'to move, stir'; nis þæt mannes ȝemet *moldhrerendra* Sch. 27.

ǣlǣrende (only gpl.), 'teachers of the law' : *lǣran* 'to teach'; cp. *ǣ-lārēow* a Pharisee : him næniȝ wæs *ælærendra* oðer betera (Paulus) E. 506. As simplex is used the word *lārēow*, but since *ǣ-lāreow* had assumed the particular sense of a 'Pharisee', another formation had to be introduced in this passage. Cp. also *lārend,* p. 167.

tūdortēond(e?) (only gpl), 'producers of progeny' : *tēon* 'to make, create'; fæder and modor *tuddorteondra* Ex. 372; cp. Gen. 959, in which case it is used as an attributive adj.

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[1] Cp. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 416; Anm. 10.

[2] *Hettend* doubtless may be regarded as a poetical word, in spite of this prose-record, as it is so usual in poetry and only occurs once in prose. The idea is, in fact, so often expressed by different words in O. E. literature that if *hettend* had really been a prose-word, it would be met with in more passages than one (where, moreover, it is only a Ms. variant).

[3] *hettendra herȝa þrymmas*, where *hettendra* may be interpreted as an attr. adj. or as a sb.

[4] See above, p. 92 f.

[5] See above, p. 95.

b) Simple words.

α) Formations from strong verbs.

scēotend, 'shooters', kenning for 'warriors' : *scēotan* II 'to shoot'; B. 703; 1154; *sceotendra* fyll Gen. 2062; 2143; Ex. 112; þone ȝarȝetrum ofer scildhreadan *sceotend* sendað Cr. 675; Jud. 305; Metr. I 11;[1] possibly B. 1026 : no he ðere feohȝyfte for *sceotendum* scamiȝan ðorfte (ms. *scotenum*, read as *sceotendum* by Kemble and Thorpe, for metrical reasons).

scieþþend (only gpl), 'enemies' : *scieþþan* 'to hurt'; he hine scilde wið *sceþþendra* eȝlum onfenȝum earmra ȝesta Guþl. A. 375; þa us ȝescildað wið *sceþþendra* eȝlum earhfarum Cr. 761; once, through misunderstanding, in Du. Ri. 113_1.[2]

β) Formations from weak verbs.

bētend 'restorer, restaurator' : *bētan* 'to restore'; brosnade burȝsteall; *betend* crunȝon herȝas to hrusan Ruine 29.[3]

brinȝend 'one who brings' : *brinȝan* 'to bring forth'; se wæs æ *brinȝend*, lara lædend (used of Christ) Cr. 140.[4]

byrȝend 'burier, interrer' : byrȝan 'to bury'; nahton *byrȝendas* Par. Ps. 78,3 — L. non erat qui sepeliret.

dēmend 'judge' : *dēman* 'to judge'; metod his ne cuðon, dæda *demend* B. 181; ȝod sceal on heofenum dæda *demend* Cott. gn. 36.

drēfend 'hunter' : *drēfan* 'to drive, drive out'; thus the sense of the subst. is perhaps somewhat specialized in relation to that of the verb; sum bið on huntoðe hreðeadiȝra deora *dræfend* Cræ. 37.

feormend 1) 'entertainer, supporter' : *feormian* 'to supply with food, sustain'; ah he *feormendra* lyt lifȝendra Wy. 30. 2) 'furbisher, polisher' : *feormian* 'to furbish, polish, cleanse'; B. 2256;[5] cp. fyrnmanna fatu *feormendlease* B. 2761.

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[1] See above, p. 86.

[2] Cp. above, p. 129.

[3] Sweet translates 'builder?' Lexicographers in general are uncertain as to the meaning of the word; the sense given above, however, — and also by Gr.-K. — seems to me to be unquestionably correct; cp. the sense of the verb in Cr. 13 : þæt se cræftȝa ȝebete, nu ȝebrosnad is, hus under hrofe.

[4] Not given as sb. in any dictionary, though its substantival character is quite evident in this instance. *æ* is gsg (see Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 269, Anm. 3).

[5] See above, p. 87.

ferjend 'bringer, leader, one who conveys' : *ferian* 'to carry, convey'; swilce he is - - flodes *ferjend*, folces nerjend Sal. 80.

jēocend 'helper, rescuer', kenning for 'God' : *jēocian* 'to help, preserve'; jæsta *jeocend* Guþl. 1106; A. 548; 901; E. 682; 1076; Cr. I 198; onjytan þone *jeocend* þe us eall jood syleð Az. 88.

lǣdend 'excuser' : **lǣdan* 'to excuse',[1] cp. *lādian* 'to excuse', *belādiend* 'excuser' (see p. 186); ic *lædend* wæs laðra firena Par. Ps. 140,5.

myndjiend 'one who reminds one, reminder' : *myndjian* 'to remind, recall'; þæs morðorhetes *myndjiend* wære B. 1105.

neriend 'Saviour', chiefly poetical word, but as a few prose-records exist, the word is given and discussed among prose-words, see p. 164.

settend 'ordainer, appointer', kenning for 'God' : *settan* 'to establish'; sijora *settend* Dan. 333; sijerof *settend* Az. 47.

þeccend 'protector' : *þeccan* 'to cover (protect)'; þu eart *þeccend* min Par. Ps. 70,5; on jod drihten, jeorne *þeccend* 70,2.

wēmend[2] 'announcer' : *wēman* 'to announce, persuade, entice'; up ahof rihtes *wemend* þara roda twa (of Jude) E. 879.

Then we meet with some pr. ptcc. used as quite occasional subst., sometimes nom. ag., though the appellative character is very slightly developed, sometimes semologically resembling or being nom virt. They will scarcely allow of an interpretation as real substantives and will best be given with participial form (cp. above Excursus, p. 128 f.). Such are:

byrnende : *byrnan* 'to burn'; *byrnendra* scole Cr. III 1252.

cwāniende : *cwānian* 'to lament'; þeodejsa bið hlud jehyred - - *cwaniendra* cirm Cr. II 836.

drīemende : *drīeman* 'to rejoice'; þæt him jefylgan ne mæg *drymendra* jedryht Ph. 348.

fēojend(e?) 'enemies' : *fēojan* 'to hate'; swa he alysde lifes ealdor of heora feonda fæcnum handum and of *feojendra* folmum swylce and heora feondas flod adrencte Par. Ps. 105,10.

It is interesting to observe how the idea of 'enemy' is consistently expressed by formations from verbs meaning 'to hate' (cp. *hettend*). In this case, when the pres. ptc. of the verb *fēojan* is used as an occasional subst., it is a repetition

[1] Cp. *lǣdend* : *lǣdan* 'to lead'.

[2] Not given in any dictionary.

of the same procedure thas has already once taken place in pre-English times and resulted in O. E. *fēond.*

fricȝende *: fricȝan* 'to ask'; næs þa *fricȝendra* under ȝoldhoman ȝad in burȝum feorran ȝeferedra E. 991.

ȝnornende *: ȝnornian* 'to grieve'; ȝeonȝe for ðe *ȝnornendra* care þara þe Par. Ps. 78,11.

wincende *: wincian* 'to blink'; lamena he is læce, leoht *wincendra* Sal. 77.

Note. The form of the ending is generally *-end* in the poetical formations, also in words formed from verbs of weak class 2. That circumstance is, of course, bound up with the geographical facts to be borne in mind when considering the poems, i. e. with the non-West-Saxon character of O. E. poetry (cp. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 412, anm. 11).

2. Words occurring in poetry and glosses.

a. Formations from strong verbs.

healdend 'guardian, ruler' : *healdan* 'to hold; possess; govern; guard, preserve'; used of *God* : folces hyrde and *healdend* Gen. 2315; se halȝa *healdend* and wealdend A. 225; of *King:* from þam *healdende* þe me hrinȝas ȝeaf Rä. 21,28; Jud. 290 (of Holofernes)[1]; of *Adam:* neorxnawanȝes hyrde and *healdend* Gen. 172; of *Abraham:* ȝewat him þa se *healdend* ham siðian Gen. 2161. Common in Northu. as gloss-word for L. *custos* 'guardian': Lind. 6×[2]; Du. Ri. 63 VIII; 84,(7); for L. *conservator* ibid. 98[7]; 111(3); 145$_4$.

Cp. O. N. *haldandi,* the sense of which is, however, somewhat different (: *halda* 'to hold'), often corresponding to O. E. *berend* 'one who holds'.

metend 'measurer' : *metan V* 'to measure (out)', of God, but with retained sense of 'measurer, one who measures out'; him þæs lean aȝeaf nalles hneawlice þurh his hand *metend* Gen. 1809; in glosses: Ormista middanȝeardes *metend* Cl. gl. 393[28], an

[1] Cp. Prosa-Guþl. 100,4. Alfwold Eastenȝla kininȝ, mid rihte and mid ȝerisenum rice *healdend* — L. rite regimina regenti, in which case the ptc. is used in a similar sense (note the uninflected form.).

[2] See Cook, Glossary.

endeavour to translate the *Hormesta mundi*, common name of the Historia of Paulus Orosius.[1]

Cp. O. N. *metendr* (Skjaldesprog)

rīdend 'rider' : *rīdan* I 'to ride'; *ridend* swefað B. 2457[2], perhaps referring to 'the rider of the gallows, der gehenkte'.[3] In the glosses, however, the word is used in the meaning of 'rider, eques': *ridende* oððe ridda eques Ælfc gr. 51[15]; cum equestri mid *ridendum* Nap. gl. 1,4748 = Hpt. gl. 515 b_2; 2,380; 7,331; New Aldh. gl. 258 b.

scieþþend, 'enemy', see above, p. 153 and footnote, p. 129.

b. Formations from weak verbs.

lǣdend 'bringer' : *lǣdan*, 'to lead, convey, bring'; se wæs æ brinȝend, lara *lædend* Cr. I 141; legislatorem æs *lædend* Reg. Eadv. Ps. 9,21; æ *lædend* Ar. Ps. ib.

ȝescieldend 'protector' (only of God) : *ȝescieldan* 'to protect' (cp. *scieldend* p. 171); þu eart *ȝescyldend* wið sceaðan wæpnum eallum þinum A. 1291; VPS. 19×[4]; V. Hy. 2×; Reg. Ps. 15×; Reg. Hy. 6[38]; Eadw. Ps. 8,3; 30,3, 5; 32,20; 27,8; 143,2; Ar. Ps. 13×.

spyriend 'investigator, enquirer' : *spyrian* 'to enquire'; ȝodes *spyrȝendes* 'an enquirer after God' Sal. 140; investigator *speriend* Kent. gl. 384.

stihtend 'disposer, ruler' : *stihtan* 'to dispose, arrange, rule'; hu he þec ȝeþyde þystra *stihtend* on clænra ȝemanȝ J. 419[5]; *stihtend* protector Reg. Ar. Ps. 58,12 (the gloss not exactly corresponding to the lemma in this case).

trymmend 'strengthener; party to an agreement' (Sw.) : *trymman* 'to strengthen'; þu me ȝod wære ȝeara *trymmend* Par. Ps. 70,3. — L. firmamentum meum; stipulatorem *trymmend* Cl. gl. 514[24]; Nap. gl. 7,383; 8,396.

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[1] Wülcker, foot-note ibid. See also Duca., Hormesta.

[2] Grein emendates to *swefeð*.

[3] Klæber, Anglia 28,446. Cp. þæt his byre ride ȝionȝ on ȝalȝan B. 2445. Cp. also Bugge, Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter und Heldensagen p. 424.

[4] See Grimm, Glossary (Angl. Forsch. 18).

[5] I wonder whether we have not here, too, the sense of 'ruler' ('the ruler of darkness'), and not that of 'Anstifter, Lenker', as Simons gives it in his glossary.

3. Prose-words.

a. Words with wholly substantival character.

α) Formations from strong verbs.

bebēodend 'master, preceptor', translates L. præceptor : *bebēodan* 'to command'; ðin eaȝan weorðað ȝesionde ðinne *bebiodend* Past. 405[25]; hælend *bebeodend* ȝemiltsa us WS. Gosp. Lk. 17,13; (eala) bebeodend! Lk. 5,5; 9,33, 49; 21,7. Note also *bebeodendes* (stefne) iubentis (vocem) Int. R. Ben. 24[3].

biddend 'petitioner' : *biddan* 'to ask'; petitor *biddend* Scint. 32[3]; hit *þam biddendum* and ðam onsecȝende. — L. petentibus Conf. Ecgb. 166$_6$; he mihte *biddendum* sellan — L. petentibus Greg. 179[18]; 157[17].

oncnāwend[1] 'one who knows, understands' : *oncnāwan* 'to know, perceive'; ac þu diȝla *oncnawend* — L. sed tu domine occultorum cognitor Ags. Min., Angl. 11,119, 65.

ƒeohtend 'fighter'; Ælfc Hom. I 48$_6$;[2] bellicosus gladiator *feohtend* Nap. gl. 1,3805; Hpt gl. 495 b$_{13}$.

wiðfeohtend 'adversary' : ðone *wiðfeohtend* - - ura ȝoda Bd 21,334 — L. rebellem; to fultome þæm *wiðfeohtende* Past. 279[1].

ȝiefend 'giver' : willa þæs uplican *ȝyfendes* — L. superni largitoris Bd IV 4310; drihten þe is ealra ȝereorda *ȝifend* R. Ben. 69[11]; frugalis, largus, *ȝifend* Harl. gl. 244[7]; largitor *ȝefend* Du. Ri. 99[8] = 145$_3$; 108[8] (cp. dator *sellend*); manȝeres naman þar ȝenam ma þonne *ȝifendes* Apoll. Tyr. 23[21] — Cp. *sellend.*

Cp. O. N. *gefendr, andgefandi, endrgefendr, láðgefendr, viðrgefendr,* poetical words (Eg.)

helpend 'helper', often of 'God': *helpend* ȝæsta Rä. 49,5; hæleða *helpend* Dan. 403; J. 157; *helpendra* leas Cr. III 1414; [helpendra það Ex. 487[3]]; Vat. Uns. I 7; Cott. Ps. 50,113; Par. Ps. 70,10; 88,36; hiora *helpend* wæs on hiora sare Bd III 926; Lind. J. 5,7; Du. Ri. 19(5) — L. auxiliator; 45,(5); 46,(4); 52,

[1] Not given in any dictionary.

[2] See above, p. 117.

[3] Should probably be emendated.

VII — L. adjutor; ealra sawla *helpend* Blickl. Hom. 105^{19}; Ben. Off. 56^{9}; Wulfst. 251^{11}; 257^{4}.[1]

Cp. O. N. *hjalpandi.*

dǽlnimend 'participator, one who takes part'; 'participle' (in grammar); evidently formed as a literal transl. of L. particeps which word it glosses or translates; found only once in poetry, viz. Par. Ps. 118,63; Ps. gl. ib.; Greg. 232^{8}; 233^{10}; Blickl. Hom. 11^{2}; 191^{25};[3] Ælfc Hom. I 36_{4}; 606^{5}; II 230_{10}; 336^{11}; 422^{14}; L. S. 33,55; 36,354; Ælfc gr. 9^{18}; 135^{17}; 233^{10}; $242^{11, 15}$ (participium ys *dælnimend.* he nymð anne dæl of naman and oðerne of worde 9^{18})[2]; 61^{11}; 112^{1}; 136^{5}; 152^{8}; Ags. Min. IX 86 (Angl. XI); Scint. 5_{5}; Sermo St. Mar. 171; Nap. gl. 1,1902: consortes, i. participes *dælnimendras.*[3]

rōwend 'rower'; in poetry used for 'sailor', as apposition of *sælidan* A. 473: næfre ic sælidan selran mette - - *rowend* rofran; Past. 445^{11}; Greg. 306^{3};[4] pro navigantibus f'e *roendum* Du. Ri. 176_{12}; naucleri *rowendes* Nap. gl. 2,6; 6,7.

Thus, even in prose the sense of the word seems sometimes to be a little generalized, e. g., Du. Ri. As for the glosses (Nap. gl.), the word *nauclerus* should certainly be rendered, as usual, by *nōwend,* but this word is evidently beginning to get obsolete; however, the glossator has had the word in his mind and lights upon the similarly sounding *rōwend,* with related sense. Cp. *nowend* p. 80.

scyppend 'Creator', 'God', extremely common in poetry and prose during the whole O. E. period.

Cp. O.H.G. *sceffant, scephant,* str. m., and *sceffanto,* weak m., *scephentâ* 'Schicksalsgöttin'.

ȝescyppend = prec. word: *ȝescyppan*;[5] Blickl. Hom. 11^{29}.

midsp(r)ecend[6] 'one who speaks on behalf of another, an advocate' (corresponding verb not recorded); þu þe wære weriȝend and *midspecend* þan hælende Ev. Nic. 592^{6}.

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[1] See above, p. 87.

[2] With weak adjectival flexon: ealle þa *dælnimendan,* ðe ȝetacniað andwearde tide Ælfc gr. 243^{1}.

[3] See above, p. 93.

[4] See above, p. 89.

[5] The simple *scyppan* is never used in Blickl. Hom., only *ȝescyppan. Scyppend,* however, occurs 19 × and *ȝescyppend* once.

[6] Not given in the dictionaries.

onsp(r)ecend 'accuser, plaintiff': *specan on* (**onspecan* not recorded), cp. *onsprǣc* 'suit involving a claim, an accusation', *onspeca;* ða onȝon Hiȝa him specan on mid oðran *onspecendan.*
Chart. Th. 169,22 (BT.)

forestæppend 'predecessor': *forestæppan* 'to precede, go before'; and se þe *forestæppend* ys beo he swylce he þen sy — L. præcessor WS. Gosp. Lk. 22,26; antecessor forȝencȝa *forstæp* Nap. gl. 1,619.

stīȝend 'sty, small tumour on the edge of the eye-lid': *stīðan* 'to (a)rise'; ordeolus *stiȝend* Ælfc Voc. 114[10].[1]
Cp. *sprinȝ* 'pustule': *sprinȝan.*
Cp. N. E. dial. *stine, sty-an-eye* and other forms (Wright).

swelȝend, 'devourer, glutton', to be distinguished from *swelȝend* 'gulf, whirlpool'; in the sense of 'devourer' it is a later independent formation of the same verb, translating devorator WS. Gosp. Lk. 7,34; ær se *swelȝend* to rice fenȝ, Alexander his sunu Or. 120[16].
Cp. *swelȝere!* Cp. *forswelȝend* p. 180.

beswīcend 'impostor, deceiver', chiefly gloss-word: impostorem *bisuicend* Ep. 545; *bisuiccend* Erf. ibid.; *bisuuicend* Co. I 217; *biswicend* Cl. gl. 422[17]; only once found in prose: eala þu sæ Neptune - - - and unscæððiȝra *beswicend* Ap. Tyr. 24[9].[2]

tēond 'accuser': *tēon* I (< **tīhan*) 'to accuse'. Occurs only in the Laws: ȝif hwelc mon - - and hine mon *betyhð,* þæt - -, þonne ah se *teond* ane swinȝellan æt him Ine 48; V As 3,1 Ld; III Eg 7,1; I Atr. 1,5; 1,7; III Atr. 6; II Cn. 25,1; 30,3 b; 30,6; Blas 2 H (Ms. B *se þe tyhð*).

wealdend 'ruler': *wealdan* 'to rule, govern'; is exceedingly common throughout the O. E. period in poetry and prose, especially in poetry. The following figures will be illustrative of its frequency: B. 9 ×, Gen. A. 38 ×, Dan. 9 ×, Ex. 3 ×, Cross 5 ×, E. 18 ×, J. 5 ×, Cr. 29 ×, A. 15 ×, Sat. 15 ×, Hö. 1 ×, Wand. 1 ×, Exet. gn. 1 ×, Cræ. 1 ×, Ph. 2 ×, Gen. B 18 ×, Metr. 13 ×, By. 1 ×. Jud. 2 ×, Men. 5 ×, Par. Ps. 28 ×, Dom. 2 ×; Laws 6 ×, Sol. 1 ×, Boeth. 6 ×, Or. 1 ×, Past. 4×, Charters 4 ×, Blickl. Hom. 3 ×, Ælfc Hom. 28 ×, L. S. 12 ×, Wulfst. 9 ×, Hpt and Nap. gl 1 ×.

[1] Ordeolum est pustula in palpebris proprie nascens ab ordeo ob similitudinem nominata (Du Ca. VI 57).

[2] Cp. *se beswicenda* oðde frǽcness gl. pellax Cl. gl. 516[11].

Used with fem. article: þes and þeos *waldend* hic et hæc præsul Ælfc gr 39^{12}.

In poetry, the word is almost exclusively used of God. Of earthly rules, we find it employed in the following cases (and perhaps in a few more):[1] Rä. 21,4; 24,6; Gen 2139; 2634; Cr. 714; Wand. 78; Edg. A 1, Eadw. 6; 8.

In prose, we find *wealdend* used of earthly rulers more often. Thus, for instance, VI Atr. 42,2; X Pro; Wif 6; Rect. 115^{24}; 119^{24}; 121^{3}; Boeth. 13^{21}; 32^{11}; 35^{30}; 64^{22}; Cart. Sax. II 333^{3} (A. D. 926); Blickl. Hom. 239^{9}; 243^{18}; Progn. 162,3; Hpt gl 428 a^{15}; Nap. gl. 1,913; Prose-Guþl. 100 prol. 1; gloss. præsul Ælfc gr. 39^{12}. Yet it is more usual there, too, of God, though sometimes with its sense of ruler clearly retained and felt (not a mere variant of God), e. g. Sol. 61^{14}; Past. 121^{3}; 207^{13}; Canons Edg. 262 V; Polity 304 I; Blickl. Hom. 133^{30}. Simply as a name for God, finally, it is to be found in sermons and prayers and religious literature in general (often in the vocative case), a use which is almost the only one in Ælfc and Wulfst.

In poetry, a few combinations with *wealdend* for a first member are sometimes met with, especially *wealdend ȝod*. Whether this is to be regarded as a cp., or as a combination of a looser description, it is difficult to decide — with the appearance of a cp. it occurs at least in Par. Ps. 56,2 and 67,16, where the dsg. *wealdendȝode* exhibits only one inflexional element. The combination in question is rather usual, e. g., E. 4; Gen. B 462; 520; 551; Par. Ps. 55,4; 67,15, 21; 99,2; Men. 46; cp. *allwaldend ȝod* Bo. 31, *wealdend drihten* Par. Ps. 56,16; 73,10; 77,65 etc. and *wealdend Crist* Dom. 52. — Cp. O. S. *waldand god*, O.H.G. *waltant got*. Somebody has explained this expression in O. E. as being due to O. S. influence, for which opinion may be advanced, in fact., the circumstance that it occurs chiefly in late O. E. poetry and is so frequent in Gen. B. But in view of its occurrence even at an earlier date — Cynewulf — I think it is preferable to regard it as an independent O. E. formation, from the same source as in O. S. and O.H.G., viz., L. *dominus deus* and other combinations of the kind.

[1] Cp. Rankin VIII 401.

Cp. O. N. *alls-*, *hers-*, *vigs-*, *yfirvaldandi*, Goth. *-valdands*, O. S. *waldand*, O. H. G. *waltant*.

wrecend 'avenger': þætte *wrecend* þa ȝyt lifde æfter laðum B. 1256; se uplica *wrecend* (of God) Eadw. Tod, Chron. 129^{17}; hwæt hwa oðrum onþon to wo ȝedo - - ȝod his bið *wrecend* Eccl. Inst. 432_{12}.

β) Formations from weak verbs.

āhniend 'possessor': *āhnian* (*āȝnian*); ȝod se ðe ys *ahniend* eorðan and heofenan Genes. 14,22; usurpans (gl. possidens) *ahniend* Hpt gl 523 a^5.[1]

Cp. *āȝnere*. In the (early and Kentish) laws we find only *āȝend*, which does not occur in the later O. E.; or it may be that this word is stylistically restricted to poetry and legal language.

ārīend 'pitier, benefactor': *ārian* 'to be gracious, to pity, to have mercy'; heo wæs wudewena and steopcilda *arīȝend* Mildred 430^2; Wulfst. 257^5.[2]

bodiend 1) 'preacher, teacher' 2) 'announcer'[3]: *bodian*, 'to announce; to prophesy; to preach' (of religious or moral teaching); he wæs ȝeworden *bodiend* and lareow þæs soðan ȝeleafan — L. predicator Greg. 239^{23}; prædicator *bodiend* Kent. gl. 1157; Scint 124^9; præceptorem *bodiend* Kent. gl. 132;[4] Paulus wæs ærest ehtere and syððan he wæs *bodiȝend* and acoren lareow Assm. 149,148; gerulus, i. portitor *bodiend* bannend Nap gl. 1,56 = gerulus, *bodiend*, bajulator, portitor Hpt gl 407 a_{12}; prophetantium *bodiendra* witedoma, bodie Nap. gl. 1,1524[5] (= Hpt. gl. 442 a_{17}).

In the texts, consequently, 'preacher' is the only meaning of the word.

costiȝend 'tempter', (of the devil): se *costiȝend* þa eode to him Blickl. Hom. 27^6; 27^{22}; 33^{19}.

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[1] Perhaps verbal.

[2] Cp. above, p. 87.

[3] So also BT. The sense of 'announcer' is not given by Sw. and Cl. H.

[4] This instance clearly gives the sense of 'teacher'. Cp. Sweet's *bodiend* 'preacher', *bodere* 'teacher'. Cp. also præceptum *bebod* Reg. Ps. 2^6.

[5] Napier, ib., suggests the reading, *witedomas*, in which case *bodiendra* becomes a verb.

costniend = prec. word; and þa ȝenealæhte se *costniend* and cwæð WS. Gosp. Mt. 4,3.

cwielmend 'tormentor, killer': *cwielman*, 'to torment, kill'; he onȝann clypian and cweðan þæt he sylfa were *cwylmend* þæs mannes — L. se interfectorem illius clamare Greg. 89[5]; þurh menifealde witu slat and cwylmde - - - to þam þæt se his *cwylmend* his ȝelyfde — L. a torquente 163[10] H.

dǣlend 'divider, distributor': hwa sette me deman oððe *dælend* ofer inc — L. divisorem WS. Gosp. Lk. 12,14; Lind. ib.

unrihtdōnd 'evildoer' (or perhaps verbal): *unriht dondum* Blickl. Hom. 63[13] (see *unrihthǣmend* p. 166).

ēhtend 'persecutor; pursuer, assailant'; lustum dreaȝ - - - *ehtendra* nið Guðl. 496; Par. Ps. 34,3 (= Ben. off. 67,17); 80,13; 88,20, 35; 108,30; 118,84; 121; 150;[1] þara ælces *ehtend* wolde beon, swa swa his feondes, þe Or. 190[24]; Nero wæs monna ærest *ehtend* cristenra monna 262[5]; 264[7] C (Ms. L. *hetend*); 264[27]; *oehtendum* persecutoribus. Lind. Mk. 10,30; Progn. Cock. III 174[7]; *oehtende* Du. Ri. 64(3); ȝebiddan for slaȝum and for *ehtendum* — L. interfectoribus et persecutoribus Scint. 35$_2$.[2]

eardiend 'dweller, inhabitant'; Par. Ps. 74,3;[3] eorðan - - þara *eardendra*, þe hire on lifdon 106,33; *eardiȝend* habitatorem VPs. Hy. 3,4; Reg. Ar. Hy. 2,11; Ar. Hy. 4,15; Greg. 192[3];[3] se unclæna *eardiend* eode of ðære ilcan stowe — L. immundus habitator 236[8]; *eardiȝendum* habitatoribus Scint. 82[2].

ineardiend = prec. word, translates L. inhabitator, and so also *oneardiend*, in another Ms.: þæs ylcan temples *ineardiend* (*on* ~) Greg. 63[12]. Formed, of course, in imitation of the L., to be a literal translation, cp. above *inbūend* p. 149.

frēfrend, frēfriend 'comforter, consoler': *frēfran*, *frēfrian*; þæt word þara *frefrendra* — L. consolantium Bd V 495; in other passages, this word generally translates paracletus: Blickl. Hom. 131[23]; 105[17]; 135[25]: 'frofre ȝast' þæs wordes andȝit is swa mon cweðe þinȝere oððe *frefrend*; WS. Gosp. J. 14,16; 15,26; 16,7; se is ȝehaten Paraclitus þæt is *Frefriend* Ælfc Hom. I

[1] See above, p. 89.

[2] Greg. 109[14]: ȝeseah þæt hi ealle anmodlice wæron *his ēhtende* — L. omnes se persequentes cernest, shows the verbal form; *ēhtan* also governs the gen., e. g. Or. 274[4].

[3] See above, p. 87.

550_5; 560_1; 562_{18}; Wulfst. 257^5;[1] 251^9; Mildr. 430^2; moncynnes ȝefea, meðra *frefrend* Ph. 422; Par. Ps. 68,21; 134,14.

Frēfrend occurs in prose only in Bd and Blickl., in poetry in Ph., alternatively in Par. Ps.;[2] in the later O. E. prose texts *frēfriend*.

fultumiend 'helper, supporter', transl. L. adjutor and similar words;[3] Ep. Erf. 95, Co. A 201, Cl. gl. 350^{30}, gl. adsensore;[4] Co. F 365, Cl. gl. 404^{19}, frutina *fultemend*; Eadw. Ps. 15×; Ar. Ps. 51,9; 69,6; Past. 115^{25}; 377^3; Greg. 243^{13};[5] 111^8; me wæs *fultumiend* and lareow Albinus Bd 2,30; his ȝefera wæs and *fultumiend* þæs ȝodcundan wordes — L. cooperator verbi III 3332; IV 114; sum casere - - wæs cristenra manna *fultumiȝend* Ælfc Hom. II 304^4; fautor *fultumend* Cl. gl. 530^{35}; Wulfst. 240^{13}; Alc. Virt. Angl. XI, 374,74; Disc. Sacr. Cr. 3^7; Hpt gl 495 b_{10}, Nap gl. 1,3807.

fylȝend 'follower, observer': þara þinȝa þe he oðre lærde to donne he sylfa wæs se wilsumesta *fylȝend* and læstend — L. executor Bd V 3084; (maneȝa synd mæȝena hiw, þa) *fyliȝendrum* (hyra syllað ricu heofena) — L. quæ sectatoribus suis tribuunt regna celorum Scint. 100_6.[6]

æfterfylȝend 'successor', twice = 'follower' transl. L. sequax; wæs he Bonefatius *æfterfylȝend* þæs biscopes Bd IV 1081; I 760; 2294; 2307; II 472; 1495; 1728; 537; 1858; III 1 O; 509; 1319; 3325; IV 1635; 2042; V 2; 747; 1325; 2251; 2901; 3267; Mart. 212^{12}; Cart. Sax. II 560 p. 199^{12} (A. D. 889); 636 p. 313^{18}; 510 p. 122^8; 636 p. 313^{20}; 636 p. 313^{11}; I 106 p. 154^6; Or. 142^{11}; KCD 753 (A. D. 1035) IV 51_{11}; 1342 VI 203^4 (A. D. 1061).

The sense of 'follower' is met with in Bd V 2203: deofles niðrunȝa and his *æfterfylȝendra* — L. diaboli et sequacium eius; Cons. Mon. 140: from haliȝum *æfterfyliȝendum* and efenlæcendum hys (= Benedicti) — a sanctis sequacibus et imitatoribus suis.

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[1] See p. 87; not nsg, as Dodd gives it in his glossary.

[2] In poetry generally *-end*, even of *ian-verbs*. Cp. p. 155 Note.

[3] Note that L. *adjutor* is very often, and even generally, rendered in O.E. by the abstract word '*fultum*'.

[4] in its in Med. L. technical meaning (see Duca).

[5] See above, p. 90.

[6] Cp. Hpt. gl. 452 b^2: sequipedas, i. secutores, ministros, dras, marg. æfterȝencȝum ł efenlæceras, where *dras* is read *fyliȝendras* by the editor.

The sense of 'later living people, posterity' occurs, e. g., in Greg. 186^{17}; 98^{1} C; Bd IV 1179, but only with weak adjectival flexion '*þa æfterfylȝendan*'.

fylstend 'helper' gl. adjutor Eadw. Ps. 62^{8}; Cons. Mon. 367; Ælfc Hom. I 48_{7}.[1]

fyrðriend 'supporter, promoter'; *ȝod simle is fultum and firðriend* Cart. Sax. II 389^{17} (A. D. 932).

ȝīemend 'keeper, governor; observer': *mid haldendum ł gemendum* cum custodibus Lind. Mt. I $22{,}7$; *ealra þæra tacna ðe þær ȝelimpað ic eom sceawere and ȝymend* Ælfc. Hom. I 504^{3}; *be - - reccendrum oððe be ȝymendum* — L. de - - rectoribus Scint. 116^{2}; *ȝymend* — L. gubernator 117^{7}.

beȝīemend 'keeper, governor': *þæs ælmihtiȝan scyppendes and beȝymendes eallra ȝesceapenra þinȝa* Cons. Mon. 294; *beȝymend* gl. rector Scint. 122_{1}; 123_{8}.

hǣlend 'Saviour': *hǣlan* 'to save, cure', formed as an equivalent of L. Salvator, but used also to translate Jesus and other designations for the second person of the Trinity. Cp. O. S. *Hēliand*, O. H. G. *Heilant*.

The word is exceedingly common during the whole O. E. period and does not dissappear until early M. E.[1] Kluge, Et. Wb., maintains that '*heilant*' is a German designation of Jesus; in England, the word had never "auch in älterer Zeit so feste Verbreitung wie im Deutschen, dafür Ags. *nerȝend*, Goth. *nasjands*".

This opinion of Kluge's is quite unfounded and decidedly wrong. In prose, the word *hælend* is so extremely common that an enumeration of the passages in which it occurs would fill pages. As for the respective frequency of the words *hǣlend* and *neriend*, the following figures will give a comparatively exact idea:

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[1] See above, p. 117. Cl.H. puts Æ (= Ælfc) after the word. Note, however, that it is recorded also in other passages, and that just those other records justify us in considering it as a clear sb.

[2] Last instance (N. E. D.) is from Ancr. Riwle A. D. 1225.

	Poetry		*Prose*		
	hælend	*neriend*		*hælend*	*neriend*
Rä.	1	—	Laws (Liebermann)	+12	—
Gen. A.	—	15	VPs Hy.	4	—
Dan.	—	3	Mart.	18	—
Exet. gn.	—	1	Greg.	ab. 13	—
Cross.	1	—	Blickl. Hom.	36	1
Guþl.	1	2	Wulfst (Dodd)	15	2
E.	6	8	Ru[1]. (Schulte)	174	—
A.	5	5	Lind. (Cook)[1]	603	—
J.	1	1			
Cr.	6	6			
Sat.	17	1			
Hö.	4	—			
Gen. B.	—	1			
Lesser poems	7	7			
Metr.	—	1			
Par. Ps.	19	1			
Ph.	2	1			
Jü. Ger.	1	—			
Men.	—	5			
Jud.	—	3			
Sal.	—	2			
Total	71 (Gr.-K 52)	63 (Gr.-K. 56)			

It is thus evident not only that *hælend* is very common both in prose and poetry, but also that its frequency is greater than that of *neriend*, which last word may be said to be altogether restricted to poetry. And certainly *hælend* cannot be regarded, with Bode,[2] as a kenning, as long as a kenning is defined as 'eine seltene entlegene Bezeichung für etwas'.

Again, it is noteworthy that, in the poetical literature previous to Cynewulf (Gen. A., Dan.), the word *hælend* is scarcely to be found; we get almost exclusively *nerʒend*. So, originally, *nerʒend* seems to have been the commoner of the two, though it had to yield its place of precedence very early: the associations will have been easier in the case of

[1] So also in the WS. Gosp., though I can give no figures.

[2] Kenningar, p. 84.

hælend, cp. especially *hāl*, *hælu*. Yet in poetry the older word was often used, for stylistic purposes, even in late O.E.

unrihthæmend (only dpl.), but cp. *hæmend* 'adulterer' : *unrihthæman* 'to commit adultery'; þæt hi sceoldan symle þæm unrihtdondum mid ȝrimnesse steran, þeofum and manswarum and *unrihthæmendum* and þæm mannum Blickl. Hom. 63^{13}.

hālsiȝend 'exorcist': *hālsian* 'to exorcise'; exorcista is *halsiȝend* se ðe ræt ofer ða witseocan men and þa untruman Ælfc Past. Ep. 378^{6}; exorcista þæt ure hatað halsiȝend þa þe behyt deoflum þæt hi of ȝedrehtum mannum faran L. S. 31,141.[1]

heriend[2] 'praiser': *herian* (Goth. *hasjan*) 'to praise'; *heriȝendrum* laudatoribus Scint. 205_{6}; cp. þonne ne derað nan lyffetunȝ *ðam heriȝendum*, ne nan upahæfednys ne costnað ðone ȝeheredan Ælfc Hom. II 560_{17}.

ȝehīerend 'hearer' he ȝeseah þa *his ȝehyrend* þone eastordæȝ onfon — L. suos auditores Bd V 3172; þa heortan þæs *ȝehirendes* Past. 81^{9}; in gpl. þara *ȝehyrendra* transl. L. audientium several times, e. g., Past. 93^{20}; Greg. 33^{32}; cp. also such expressions as dpl. eallum *ȝehyrendum* — L. omnibus audientibus, e. g. R. Ben. 38^{16}.

Cp. Goth. *hausjands*.

hierwend 'blasphemer'; led ut ðone *hirwend* wið utan þa wicstowe — L. blasphemum Levit. 24,14.[3]

hlystend 'listener': *hlystan* 'to listen'; asprinȝað clæne ȝeðohtas on mode *ðæra hlystendra* Ælfc Hom I 362^{18}; *hlystendra* auditorum Scint. 119^{9}; *hlystend* auditor Scint. 126^{1}; auditoribus *hlystendum* auscultatoribus Hpt. gl. $461\,a_{16}$ = Nap. gl. 1,2331.

tohlystend (only dpl.), but cp. *hlystend*, *ȝeleafhlystend*, 'listener': hlystan; on þara *tohlystendra* heortan Past. 97^{8}; unnytte þæm *tohlystendum* 97^{18}.

onhyrȝend 'imitator, emulator': *onhyrian* 'to imitate'; his þeowa and his þæs clænan lifes *onherȝend* beon nolde — L. imita-

[1] Sw. also gives the sense of 'soothsayer', for which, however, I have found no record.

[2] Not given in any dictionary.

[3] Bouterwek reads *herwiendras* in Hpt. gl. $506\,a_{5}$: contem(p)tores *dres;* Napier gives no interpretation of *dras* Nap. gl. 1,4278; the word meant is certainly *forsawendras* or *hyrwendras;* cp. contemptibilem, i. despectibilem *forsawenlicne* Nap. gl. 1,470; 935; contemtibilibus, i. despicientibus *forsawendrum* 1,5438; contemtibilis *hyrwendlic* 1,5504 = Hpt. gl. $529\,b_{1}$; contemtrix *forsæuestre* Nap. gl. 1,4430.

tores suos in virtutibus Greg. 23[2] C, O (Ms. H. efenlæcendras his mæʒena, cp. below); Cl. gl. 395[26]; 508[23] (see p. 88); zelotypus andiʒ, ellenwod carful, *onhyriend*, emhydi Nap. gl. 1,364; Hpt. gl. 414 b_3; 415 a^1; so probably also æmulatores, i. æquiparatores *dras* Hpt. gl. 506 a_7 and Nap. gl. 1,4277.

(ʒe)efenlǣcend 'imitator': *(ʒe)efenlǣcan* 'to imitate'; Libertinus - - - læfde ænie *efenlecændras* his mæʒena Greg. 23[1] H (cp. above onhyrʒend); fram haliʒum æfterfyliʒendrum and *ʒeefenlæcendrum* hys (= Benedicti) — L. a sanctis sequacibus et imitatoribus suis Int. Cons. Mon. 140; ðæra apostola and heora *efenlæcendra* Ælfc. Hom I 396[18]; *efenlæcend* imitator Scint. 13[11].

lǣnend 'lender, creditor': *lǣnan* 'to lend; lease'; tweʒen ʒafolʒyldon wæron sumum *lænende* — L. cuidam feneratori WS. Gosp. Lk. 7,41; fenerator vel commodator uel creditor, redditor *lænend* vel strude Harl. gl. 237,40.

lǣrend[1] 'teacher': *lǣran* 'to teach'; ʒe ðone læwend (Jude) ʒe ðone *lærend* (devil) Assm. Ælfc 154,71.[2]

Cp. O. S. *lêriand* (Hel.).

lǣstend 'doer, executor'; lareow - - ðara ðinʒa ðe he oðre lærde to donne, he sylfa wæs se wilsumesta fylʒend and *læstend* — L. executor devotissimus Bd V 3085.

lǣwend 'betrayer, traitor'; Assm. Ælfc 154,70 (see above *lǣrend*); wiste he drihten ana, hwa his *læwend* and myrðra wæs 162,235; proditor *læwend* Kent. gl. 1156; *læwend* Suppl. Ælfc voc 168[18]; Cl. gl. 471[5]; seductor *læfend* Suppl. Ælfc voc. 168[17].[3]

belǣwend = prec. word: *belǣwan* 'to betray'; Cristes *belæwend* BCS I 106 p. 156[5]; sy he Iudas ʒefera Cristes *belæwendes* KCD 715 III 350[17] (A. D. 1006); Iudas Cristes *belæwend* Disc. Sacr. Cross 15[6].

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[1] Not given in any dictionary.

[2] Evidently a new-formation in this passage (cp. the usual *lārēow*), suggested by the preceding *lǣwend* and used to avoid the ambiguity of the denominational *lārēow*.

[3] It is not very likely that two different words are meant Suppl. Ælfc voc. 168[17] and 168[18] by seductor *læfend* and proditor *læwend*, and not rather the latter in both cases. If really *lǣfend* should be meant to belong to *lǣfan* 'to leave', it must mean 'one who abandons' and thus 'misleads'; but at any rate, in that case, the glossing is not literal.

ēdlēaniend 'requiter, remunerator': se ordfruma sylf and *edleaniend* þæs ecan lifes — L. auctor et retributor vitæ Greg. 286[6]; remuneratore, i. largitore *edleani* Napl. gl. 1,2549 (= edleaniend, Nap.); Hpt. gl. 490 b_{10}; cp. *leaniend* p. 186.

līesend 'deliverer, redeemer' (of God); *lysend* ealles mancynnes Disc. Sacr. Cross 17[2]; *lesend* redemptor Du. Ri. 20(15); 30(9); 33(2).

Commoner, however, is its cp.

ālīesend with the same meaning, transl. L. redemptor, liberator; Par. Ps. 69,7; 77,34; 143,2. V. Reg. Jun. Eadw. Ar. Ps. 18,15; 69,6 (exc. Jun.); 77,35 (exc. Eadw.); 39,18 (exc. V. Ar.); 17,3,48 (exc. V.); Reg. Ar. 143,2; Cact. Sax. I 106 p. 154_{11}; se *aliesend* monna cynnes Past. 129[17]; ure *alysend* 135[10]; 261[4]; 301[5,12]; 385[13]; Bd IV 953 O; 1375; Greg. 60[8,21]; 91[22]; 117[2]; 249[6]; 256[11]; 295[23]; 333[2]; Blickl. Hom. 65[30]; 87[9]; ealles middeneardes *alysend*, Prayer Arch. 84,328[1]; Ælfc Hom. I 94[7]; 136[16]; 238_{10}; 294[14]; 308[7,12]; 352_7; 532[11]; 556_9; 572_{15}; 608[10]; II 8_{15}; 16[12]; 110_9; 262[4]; 266[3]; 418[8]; 456[15]; 478[10]; L. S. 14,39; 23 B,608; Ælfc de test. 13[14]; Hiob XV (19[25]); Disc. Sacr. Cross 7[17]; Wulfst. 142[22]; 193[27]; III Quadr. 26_{11}; Ags. Min. IX 59 (Angl. XI 114,59); Scint. 128_6; 140[3]; 148_5.

The word, which stands much on a par with *hælend*, though it is less common, occurs, as has been seen, throughout the O. E. period in prose literature and in Par. Ps. In M. E. it is only recorded twice, according to Stratmann, the last time in Jul. (ab. 1300).

On a few occasions, the word is met with in the form of *onlīesend*[1]: *onlīesan* 'to relieve, deliver'; Jun. Ps. 17,3; 69,6; 143,2; Ags. Min. X Angl. 12, 500[5].

lufiȝend 'lover, friend' (cp. *frēond*, and cp. *fēond* and *hatiȝend*): Cart. Sax. I 106 p. 154[1]: Boeth. 62[27]; 73[20] (see p. 88); 70[14]; 73[16]; he wæs þearfena *lufiend* — L. cultor pauperum Greg. 329[13] (cp. biȝenȝa þearfena Bd); Ælfc Hom. II 392_9 (see p. 88); Criste se ðe is clænnysse *lufiȝend* L. S. IV 42; andwyrde Agnes þan cnihte: ȝewit þu from me - - ic hæbbe oðerne *lufiend* (viz. God) L. S. 7,27; amans dei is nama þæt is amator dei ȝodes *lufiȝend* Ælfc gr. 255[9]; 255[10]; Progn.

[1] Not given in the dictionaries in this form.

162^{16}; Du. Ri. 102^{9}; 104_{3}; lare lufiȝend Apoll. Tyr. 28^{15}; lufiȝendum amatoribus Scint. 62^{1}; 14^{3} (see p. 88).

maniend 'admonisher; claimer, collector'; þæs *maniendes* stefne Past. 407^{13}; sæde þæt he wære hefiȝlice ȝeswenced fram his *maniende* fore XII scyllinȝum — L. a creditore suo Greg. 157^{32}; 158^{19} (see p. 117); St. Matheus - - wæs ærest theloniarius þæt is ȝafoles *moniend* and wicȝerefa Mart. 172^{22}.

ȝemet(iȝ)end[1] 'ruler, governor' : *ȝemetiȝan* 'restrain, control, govern'; þu eart min ȝod - - and min sceapen, and min *ȝemetȝyend*, and min tohopa Sol. 11^{6} (without an equivalent in the L. original).

mildsiend 'pitier, one who is merciful', chiefly in Ps. gl., glossing L. miserator: V. Eadw. Jun. Ps. 85,15; 102,8; 111,4; 110,4; V. Reg. Eadw. Ar. 144,8; Reg. Ar. 102,8; 144,8; Ar. 110,4; 111,4; Ar. Hy. 6,43; *milsend* miserator Du. Ri. 69^{3}; 170(40); se arfæsta *miltsiȝend* Ælfc Hom. II 420^{17}.

ȝemildsiend = prec. word; Reg. Ps. 85,15; 110,4; 111,4; Ar. Ps. 85,15; earmra *ȝemiltsiȝend* Apoll. Tyr. 28^{15}.

mundiend 'protector' : *mundian* 'to protect'; þæt he min fullafreod and *mundiend* beo (previously *forespeca*) Cart. Sax. III 603^{22} (A. D. 972).

neriend 'Saviour' : *nerian* 'to save, protect'; as for poetical records see Gr.-K. (cp. figures given in the statistical table of the use of hǣlend and nerȝend, above p. 165; in prose, we meet with the word only a few times: ealles middanȝeardes Hælend and ealra ȝasta *Nerȝend* Blickl. Hom. 105^{18} = Wufst. 251^{10}; ȝodes sunu is hælend and *nerȝend* ealles mancynnes Disc. Sacr. Cross 13^{8}; in all the quoted passages, consequently, as a variant of *hǣlend*. In Wulfst. 302^{29}, the word is used, not of Christ, but of the Church: cyrice bið ure scyld and *neriend* on domes dæȝ wið ðæt micele fyr. — Cp. further, above, p. 164 f.

Cp. Goth. *nasjands*, O. S. *neriand*.

ednīwiend 'renewer, restorer' : *ednīwian* 'to renew, restore'; scyppend and *edniwiend* mennisces cynnes Ags. Min. Angl. $11,115^{2}$ — L. reparator.

bepǣcend 'deceiver', gl. deceptor Suppl. Ælfc Voc. 168^{16}; seductor and deceptor Ælfc gl. 319^{12}; deofol is - - sawla *bepæcend* Ælfc Hom. I 102^{2}; deofol, þisses folces *bepæcend* 496^{13}; ille-

[1] Not given in the dictionaries.

cebroso, i. illicita *bepæcendræ*, marg. illecebrosus *bepæcend* vel forspennend Hpt gl. 481 a_7.[1]

raciend[2] 'explainer, expounder, preacher' : *racian* in a sense not recorded[3], but cp. next word, and cp. *reccan* 'to explain, expound; direct, rule', *racu* 'narrative; explanation; account'; se soðsaȝola *raciend* and dema Greg. 265^{12}.

rihtraciend 'expounder of righteousness' 'right preacher', cp. prec. word (: *riht* + *racian*); þæt se ure *rihtraciend* wæs sprecende in þissere bufan cwedenan bec (= Salomon) Greg. 266^{7}; $267^{11, 18}$; seo Salomones boc - - seo is ȝenemned Ecclesiastes — seo boc is aȝendlice on englisc *rihtraciend* ȝehaten — L. concionator Greg. 264^{27}; þurh rædinȝe þæs *rihtraciendes* 265^{5}.

rēafiȝend, 'spoiler, plunderer' : KCD 715 III 350_{12} (A. D. 1006).[4]

berēafiȝend = prec. word; þu sæ Neptune, manna *bereafiȝend* Apoll. Tyr. 24^{8}.

reccend 'ruler' : *reccan* 'to direct; govern; guide; explain; narrate, tell; reckon'. Chiefly of *God:* rice is se *reccend* and on ryht cyniȝ ealra anwalda Rä. 41,3; Eala! þu *reccend* and þu riht cyniȝ Cr. 18; Dan. 580; ealra ȝesceafta sceppend and *reccend* Metr. 4,30; þeoda *reccend* Par. Ps. 101,1 = Ben. off. 70^{28}; ȝod is eallra þinȝa *reccend* Boeth. 101^{4}; Or. 58^{22}; Blickl. Hom. 185^{27}; Wulfst. 255^{18}; of earthly *Kings* : Her Eadȝar ȝefor Anȝla *reccent* Westseaxena wine and Myrcene mundbora Chron. 975, Edȝar; swylcne *reccend* and cyniȝ habban — L. talem habere rectorem Bd III 1648; Ælfc Hom. II 320^{2}; of *heads of monasteries* : heom ȝesette ȝewisse prafostas and *reccendas* Greg. 119^{21} cp. hæfde þone recenddom and hlaforddom þæs mynstres ib. 20^{21}; *gl.* rector : *reccendrum* Scint. 116^{2}; *reccendes* 122_2; cp. rectores *dras* iudices Hpt gl. 424 b^{20}, where Bout. reads *reccendras.*

With weak adjectival flexion: mid *þæs reccendun* spræce R. Ben. 138^{8}.

rētend 'comforter' : *rētan* 'to comfort'; Wulfst. 257^{4}.[5]

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[1] The substantival ptc. of *bepæcan* was evidently commoner than the adjectival, and so came to be used as a gl. of a L. adj.

[2] Not given in any dictionary.

[3] *racian* 'rule, direct; go, betake onself to' (Sw.).

[4] See above, p. 88.

[5] See above, p. 87.

rihtend 'ruler' : *rihtan* 'direct; restore; rule, govern'; rodera *rihtend* Cr. 798; eala þu ælmihtiȝa scippend and *rihtend* eallra ȝesceafta Boeth. 10^{16}; sum wer - - þæs nama wæs Advocatus, se wæs sema and *rihtend* maniȝra manna Greg. 297^{7}.[1] In the last instance, the word should perhaps be interpreted as 'restorer (to their rights), corrector'.

oferscēawiȝend 'overseer, superintendent' : *oferscēawiȝan* 'to superintend'; his nama is ȝecweden episcopus þæt is *oferscēawiȝend* on englisc Ælfc Past. Ep. 378_{7}.

scieldend 'protector' (only of God); min þu mære eart mihtiȝ scyldend Par. Ps. 143,3; 83,9; 113,20; Reg. Hy. 4^{2}; Eadw. Ps. 10×; Eadw. Hy. 4^{2}; 6^{38}; Blickl. Hom. 141^{14}; Du. Ri. 15,(12); 98^{3}; 76(3); Ar. Ps. 5×; Abbo gl. Cler. Zup. 503 (eala þu *scildend*).

Scieldend, as well as its synonym *ȝescieldend* (cp. above, p. 156), glosses protector, sometimes defensor. Both are, as has been seen, almost restricted to the Ps. gl., where they are very common.

forscrencend 'supplanter, oppressor' : *forscrencan* 'to supplant, oppress'; Jacob is ȝecweden *forscrencend* Ælfc Hom. I 198_{15}; $586^{11}_{12, 11}$.

secȝend 'speaker, relater, narrator'; næniȝ tweoȝende *secȝend* me ðis sæde — L. dubius relator Bd III 1749; þam *secȝendum* Past. 237^{10}; Assm. Ælfc 31,178; in the last cases simply the ptc. used substantively.

Cp. O. N. *segjendr*.

onsecȝend[2] 'sacrificer' : *onsecȝan* 'to offer, sacrifice'; oððe hit þam biddendum and *þam onsecȝende* þære onsæȝdnysse fremode — L. vel petentibus aut sacrificatori sacrificii proficiebat Conf. Ecȝb. 166_{6}.

sellend 'giver', transl. L. largitor, dator; often of God: siȝora *sellend* J. 668; 705; Pa. 64; se is ordfruma and *syllend* eallra eadiȝnesse Bd IV 4677; Ælfc Hom. II 328^{1}; Du. Ri. 99^{7} = 145_{4}; 103(2); 111(3); ȝod lufað ðone ȝlædan *syllend* Ælfc Hom. II 212^{9}; Scint. 108^{6}; farað to *ðam syllendum* and biceað eow ele (= 'sellers') Ælfc Hom. $570^{14, 20}$; sacerdos on Leden 'sac-

[1] *Sema* and *rihtend* correspond to L. *advocatus*, which has, wrongly, been interpreted as a proper name by the translator.

[2] Not given in the dictionaries.

rum dans' and on urum ȝeþeode haliȝ *syllend* Pœnit. EcȝB. 202_{15}; gl. traditor (WS. Gosp. læwa) Lind. Mk. I 5^{10}; 14,44; Lk. 22,21.

ǣsellend 'law-giver, legislator' (of Moses) : se mæra *æsyllend* Moyses Assm. Ælfc 24,13.

sē̆mend 'arbitrator, umpire' : *sēman* 'to bring to an agreement; settle'; ȝesecæn hiom *sæmend* ('sollen sie sich einen Schiedsrichter aufsuchen) Hl. 10; hy ealle ȝemænum handum on anum wæpne ðam *semende* syllan Wer 4.

smēaȝend[1] 'penetrator, scrutinizer, investigator' : *smē(aȝ)an* to scrutinize, investigate'; þu drihten Crist þe ealle diȝle þinȝ wast þu þe eart modes *smeaȝend* and manna heortan L. S. 12,193.

speliend, properly 'substitute, representative', but only in the connection *naman speliȝend* = 'pronoun'; Ælfc gr. 8^{2}: pronomen is þæs *naman speljend* (se spelað ðone naman þæt þu ne ðurfe tuwa hine nemnan)); $92^{4,13}$; 94^{2} (see p. 96); 94^{6}; 116^{6}(2 ×); 127^{15}; with weak adjectival flexion: dirivativa pronomina þæt synd ofȝanȝenlice naman *speliȝendan* 109^{4}; 233^{9}.

edstaðeliend 'restorer': *edstaðelian* 'to restore'; of Christ: Crist - - is þin *edstaðeliȝend* L. S. 5,201.

ȝeedstaðeliend = prec. word; eala þu ȝod scyppend and *ȝeedstaðeliend* ealles manncynnes Ags. Min. IX 3 Angl. 11,112.

stīerend 'governor, ruler (of God); corrector': *stīeran* 'to guide, govern; reprove', he is on riht cyning staðolfæst *styrend* in stowa ȝehwam A. 121; 1336; eallra ȝesceafta reccend and *styrend* Wulfst. 255^{18};[2] corrector *styrend* increpator[3] Harl. gl. 213^{25}.

swefniȝend 'dreamer': *swefnian* 'to appear in a dream; to dream'; her ȝæð se *swefniȝend* — L. ecce somniator venit (of Joseph) Genes. 37,19.

oferswīðend[1] 'vanquisher': *oferswīðan* 'to overcome, surpass'; and deofles *oferswiðend* þurh ȝeþyld L. S. 30,126.

tǣcend 'one who directs, gives a direction': *tǣcan* 'to direct, enjoin teach'; ȝif hwylcum breðer hwæt unacumenlices beboden sy underfo he þa ȝeboda his t*æcendes* mid eallre ȝeðwærnesse —

[1] Not given in any dictionary.

[2] The corresponding verb is, in Wulfst., only recorded in the sense of 'correct, rebuke, check' (Dodd).

[3] *increpator* 'reprover, blamer', 'Schelter, Tadler' (Georges).

L. jubentis imperium R. Ben. 128[11] (Int. R. Ben.: bebeodendes bebod).

tǣlend 'detractor, slanderer', seldon æniȝ mann wile beon andetta þæt he æfestiȝ sy oððe *tælend* Blickl. Hom. 65[4]; derisorem *telend* Kent. gl. 289; cum detractoribus mid *telendum* Kent. gl. 938; gl. contemptor, reprehensor Lind. Mt. I 2[17]; I 21[9]; Lk. I 6[12]; mid þan þeawe *tælendre* me hleahtrige — L. more obtrectatoris succensueris Prose-Guðl. 101, prol. 22; ib., prol. 12; gl. derisor Scint 113_7; $171_{5,4}$; 205_6; detrahentium *tælendra* ib. 12_7.

The senses of the word are consequently: 1) 'detractor, slanderer' 2) 'derider, scoffer' 3) 'reprover'. Cp. *tǣlan* 'to blame, calumniate; deride'.

tīenend 'calumniator' ȝebiddað for eowerum ehterum and *tynendum* Ælfc Hom II 36[16]; cp. ibid. 216[17]: ȝebiddað for eowerum ehterum and *eow tynendum*, with verbal construction; perhaps rather belonging to b).

tiliend 'provider':[1] *tilian* 'to strive after, attempt; obtain, provide; support; cure'; ȝod sy ȝebletsod sawla hælo *tiliend* Mar. Ægypt. 102[31].

timbrend 'builder'; *timbran*, *timbrian* 'to build, construct; edify'; St Hilda - - wæs seo æryste *timbrend* þæs mynstres Mart. 206[18]; se wæs timbrend and abbud þæs mynstres — L. constructor et abbas Bd IV 1111; Greg. 322[2].[2]

tȳdriend 'propagator, producer': *tȳdrian* 'to bring forth, breed'; þæt he wære moncynnes *tydriend* swa swa he wæs Or 36[13]; fecundus, i. copiosus, fructuosus ł habundans ł *tydriend* Harl. gl. 238[22].[3]

tyhtend 'instigator, inciter': *tyhtan* 'to incite'; chiefly gloss-word; inlex *tyctænd* Ep. 509, *tychtend* Erf. ib.; incentor *tyhtend* Co. I 363; allectio *tyhtend* Cl. gl. 354[36];[4] incentor wrehtend *tyhtend* Cl. gl. 420[29]; incentor *tyhtend* Cl. gl. 504[24]; 527[21]; *tihtend* Nap. gl. 1,3806; *tyhtend* 2,254; deofol is yfel *tihtend* Ælfc Hom. I 102[1].

weriend 'defender, protector'; *werȝendra* to lyt þronȝ ymbe þeoden

[1] Not given in any dictionary.

[2] See above, p. 87.

[3] The substantival form used, as it is so often, to gloss an adj.

[4] Certainly an abstract word *tyhtend* should not be assumed on account of this record; the gloss is simply incorrect (careless rendering of the lemma).

B. 2882;[1] Gen. 1971; Ex. 588;[2] Saul wæs ȝecoren ærest to cyninȝe, forðan ðe hiȝ woldon sumne *weriend* habban, þe hi ȝeheolde wið þæt hæðene folc Ælfc de test. 6^{43}; ne ondræd þu þe, Abram! Ic eom þin *werȝend* Genes. 15,1; cyrcan - - bið ure friðiend and *werȝend* Wulfst. 239^{7}; heora byð eft *werigend* — L. iterum habebit eum ultorem Alc. Virt. Angl. XI 385,336; þu(= Nicod) ðe wære *werigend* and midspecend þan hælende Ev. Nic. 592^{6}.

Cp. O. N. *verjendr*, O. Frs. *werand* 'Gewährhrsmann', M.H.G. *warand*, Med. L. *guarandus*.

beweriend = prec. word; Paulus wæs midspreca and *bewerigend* þære ealdan æ Ælfc. Hom I 388_{4}; he sceal beon bewerȝend wydewena and steopcilda XII Abus. 302_{3}.

āwestēnd 'destroyer, waster', þone awyrȝedan enȝel - - - þone men *awestend* hatað Wulfst. 200^{19}.

āwierdend[3] 'destroyer': *āwierdan* 'to destroy, injure'; for he is hælend and na *awerdend*. þa awerde þinȝ he ȝehælð and þa ȝehale he ȝefæstneð on strencðe Sermo St. Mar. 70.

wierȝend 'curser, swearer; reviler'; Par. Ps. Eadw. Ps. 91,10; L. S. 17,42.[4] In other passages where the word occurs substantivally, it has weak adjectival inflexion, e. g., ne ða ðiofas ne ða druncenwillan ne *ða wierȝendan* ȝodes rice ne ȝesittað Past. 401^{29}; Ælfc Hom. II 34_{10}; Ben. 17^{3}.

wissiend 1) 'director, guide' (of that which moves): crætand his *wissigend*, þæt is crætwisa — L. auriga L. S. 18,295; 2) 'director, ruler': seo wyln bið ðære hlæfdian *wissigend* L. S. 17,11; næfdon nanne cyninȝ — ȝod sylf wæs heora *wissigend* Iudic. 253^{17}; cyninȝ þæt is ȝecweden *wissigend* XII Abus 302_{10}; gubernator, i. rector, *wissiend* Hpt. gl. 459 b^{15}; gubernator i. dispositor, *wissiend* Nap. gl. 1,2264.

wrēȝend 'accuser, announcer'; Bd V 2723;[4] he wilnað þæt he mid þy ȝeweorðe ure *wreȝend* and wrohtbora beforan ðam dome þæs ecan deman — L. accusator Greg. 221^{13}; accussor *wreȝend* Cl. gl. 353^{32};[5] 480^{24};[5] delatoribus *wreȝendum* Cl. gl. 389^{41}; gl. accusator Scint. 29^{4}; 39_{7}.

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[1] Ms. *ferȝendra*.

[2] See above, p. 87.

[3] Not given in any dictionary.

[4] See above, p. 90.

[5] In a foot-note W. proposes to read accusator, to which Sievers, Anglia XIII, p. 331, remarks: "lies nicht mit der Note accusator, sondern *accusarent wreȝden*, denn die Glosse gehört zu Matth. 12,10: ut accusarent eum".

b. Ptcc. occasionally used substantivally.[1]

α) Formations from strong verbs.

crēopende sb. pl. 'reptiles': *crēopan* 'to creep'; Genes. 1,26[2]; eall flæsc - - manna and fuȝela, nytena and *creopendra* Genes. 7,21. Cp. *þam slincendum* — L. reptili ibid. 6,7.

weȝfarende : *weȝ* + *faran*, used substantivally L. S. XXXI 992: beȝunnon to axienne æt oðrum *weȝfarendum*.

Indeed, there exists a group of *farende-cpp.* in O. E. prose, though the forms recorded may belong to weak adjs. used substantivally. At any rate, all *farende*-cpp. must be regarded as original adjs. Besides the one given, we find *infarende*: þæt he ælmessan underfenȝe æt *ðam infarendum* L. S. 10,27; *scipfarende* : Aidan *þam scypfarendum* ðone storm towardne foresæȝde — L. nautis Bd III 1666.

Cp. *þone widfarendan* Past. 315[14] and cp. *fērende*-cpp.

lēoȝende, 'lying': of *leoȝendra* muðe — L. ore mentientium Greg. 41[6].

ondrēdende 'fearing, dreading': þa wuldorfæstlicnysse þe þu *ondrædendum* ȝyfest L. S. XXIII B 603.

sinȝende 'singing': he ȝehyrde *sinȝendra* stefne L. S. XXXI 1397; Chad 102 (see below *blissiende*); cp. þam stefnum *þara sinȝendra* — L. voces psallentium Greg. 282[13]; 285[28].

slǣpende 'sleeping': of scondlicum ȝeðohte ðæs wæccendan upcymeð seo bysmrunȝ *slæpendes* Bd I 2239 — L. vigilantis, dormientis; be *ðam slapendum* — L. de dormientibus Ælfc Hom. II 566_5.

unsprecende 'not speaking', used substantivally of 'child'; of *unsprecendra* muðe and sucendra L. S. XXXI 277 = Ps. 8,2 (cp. Ps. gl.). Formed, of course, as a literal translation of L. infantium.

ætstandende, ptc., (*ætstandend? sb?*) 'bystander; attendant'; cwæð to hire *ætstandendum* Ælfc Hom I 450_4; þone Hælend bodode eallum *ætstandendum* L. S. XXIX, 255.

Cp. cwæð to þam *embstandendum* L. S. XXIII 275; XXIV 268; fram ðam ymbstandendum — L. a circumstantibus civibus Greg. 191[18]; cp. also verbal use as in *to him ymbstandendum cwæð* L. S. XXXI, 81.

sūcende, 'sucking', translating lactantium L. S. XXXI, 277 (=Ps. gl. 8,2); see above, under *unsprecende*.

wēpende 'weeping': earma retend and *wependra* frefriend Wulfst 257^5; cp. þa tearas wurdon in wundrunȝe ȝecyrrede eallra *þara weopendra* þe þær ymbstodon — L. cunctorum plangentium Greg. 307^8.

β) Formations from weak verbs.

andettende 'confessor', only in the phrase *andettende beon;* Ags. Min. II 30 (Angl. XI)[3]; cp. Scint. 38_9, gloss. L. confitentes.

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[1] Words only recorded in the gpl. and dpl. with the definite article are not given here, since they may quite as well be the weak adjectival forms.

[2] See above, p. 84.

[3] Cp. above, p. 114.

dǣdbētende 'penitent', very common as a weak adj. *se dædbetenda*, e. g., Alc. Virt. 368; Conf. Ecʒb. 170 XII; once without article: þæt heofenlice rice behæt soðlice *dædbetendum* æfter ʒyltum Ælfc Hom. II 84^{9}.

blissiende 'rejoicing'; þa swetestan stefne sinʒendra and *blissendra* — L. cantantium atque lætantium Chad 103; Bd IV 485; 566.

clipiende 'exclaiming, calling'; stemn *clypiʒendes* on westene — L. vox clamantis WS. Gosp. Mt. $3,_{3}$ = Ælfc Hom. I 360_{5}; *clipiendra* ʒehwylc wolde — L. omnis invocans cupit Sprüchw. ed. Roeder, Reg. Ps. XII^{2}.

ʒeōmriʒende 'mourning, complaining'; heo wæs *ʒeomriʒendra* frofor L. S. $33,_{199}$.

behrēowsiʒende 'repenting': *behreowsiʒendum* bið forʒifen, forseondum næfre Ælfc Hom. I 500_{10}.

[*hynʒriende* 'hungry' very common, e. g., hynʒriendum we sceolon syllan mete Eccl. Inst. 428 XXXII; translating *esurientes* or *famelicus* or some such word. The sense of the word is adjectival and cannot be regarded as agential.]

lifiʒende 'living' is very common as an adj. in substantival use, e. g., in *lifʒendra* londes wynne Cr. 437.

onlōciende 'onlooking', 'onlooker'; eallum *onlociʒendum* Ælfc Hom. I 440^{13}; L. S. $22,_{140}$; Assm. Ælfc $95,_{98}$.

lyffetende 'flattering'; þæra *liffetendra* tunʒe — L. adulantium Greg. H. 34^{27}; *lyffetendra* tunʒan Ælfc Hom. I 494^{6}. — On this verb see Hecht, Dial. Greg., Einleitung, p. 137, note.

nellende 'not willing': butan *nellendes* andsware R. Ben. 20^{19}.

lēasōleccende 'flattering': *lēas* 'false' + *ōleccan* 'to soothe, caress, flatter, please'; seo tunʒe *þara leasolecendra* cweleð and swenceð þæs sawle Greg. 34^{27} C. O.; cp. *liffetende*, and see the literature there referred to.

andswariʒende 'answering, responding' (in liturgy) (sb.?): *andswariʒendum* — L. respondentibus Cons. Mon. $358,_{361}$ (Angl. $13,_{390}$).

tienend 'calumniator', given above under a) (p. 173).

[*þearfende* 'poor' has entirely passed over into an adj. and, as such, is very often used substantivally, generally with strong, sometimes with weak, adjectival flexion. In Lind. G. the form is *þorfend*.]

4. Words occurring only in glosses.

a. Formations from strong verbs.

bannend 'summoner': *bannan* 'to summon'; gerulus, i. portitor bodiend *bannend* Nap. gl. $1,_{56}$; contionatorum, i. rethorum, *bannendra*, maðeliendra, wordliendra $1,_{2321}$; $2,_{74}$; Hpt gl. 460 b_{7}; contionator *bannend* Hpt gl. 528 a_{17}, Nap. gl. $1,_{5415}$; $2,_{465}$.

foreceorfend 'front tooth' : *foreceorfan* (only Ælfc gr.) 'vorn abschneiden, was vorn ist abschneiden'; gl. precissor Cl. gl. 264[11], of which it is a literal translation, just as the corresponding verb is of præcidere.

ofercymmend 'conqueror, vanquisher', a substantival form, as is shown by the article, used (wrongly) to gloss the verbal ptc. superveniens : se *ofercymmend* Lind. Lk. 11,22.

onfanȝend 'receiver, acceptor'; acceptor *onfanȝend* Scint. 184[6]. — See next word.

ondfenȝend = prec. word; numerarii ȝafoles *andfendȝend* Cl. gl. 457[11] where the second *d* is, of course, due to a scribal error; susceptor *andfenȝend* Ar. Ps 3,4; so also, accord. to BT., Ps. Th. 41,10; 45,6,10; Ps. L. 17,3.

Zupitza[1] remarks that he does not know of any O. E. verb **fanȝan* or **fonȝan*, side by side with *fōn*. Nor do I, but the form *onfanȝend*, quoted above, points to the existence of such a form *(onfanȝan)* with newly formed infinitive (< ptc.). But what I fail to see, in this connection, is how, as Zupitza assumes, the existence or lack of a form **fanȝan* can have anything to do with the form *onfenȝend*, with *e* as vowel of the stem-syllable.

As regards this form, two circumstances, I think, will have to be taken into consideration. First, it is to be noticed that nearly all other derivatives of this verb are formed from the preterite stem, e. g., *onfenȝe*, adj. 'taken, accepted', *onfenȝness* 'acceptance': the form *fenȝ-* thus became the bearer of the common sense of the group. And further, there existed another formation, viz., *ondfenȝ*, with the same meaning as *ondfenȝend*, *onfōnd*, though originally a nomen actionis (see Introduction, p. 31). This word being morphologically isolated as a nom. ag., a blending was made between *andfenȝ* and *anfōend*, the ending *-end* being thus used to form a nom. ag. without, seemingly, a verb by its side. That this formation starts from the sb. *andfenȝ* is made likely also by the form of the prefix *(and-*, not *an-*, *on-)*. The form *andfend* occurring in Ar. Ps. 53,6 is probably a miswriting for *andfenȝend*, scarcely for *anfoend*, in which case the prefix would have been *an-*.

[1] Arch. 86,405, in a foot-note to a paper by Lübke.

anfōnd = prec. word: *onfōn* 'to receive, take up under protection' gl. susceptor Reg. Ps. 3,4 *(anfoend)*, 45,8;12; 118,114; [translating piscator: ȝyt beoð sawla *onfonde* WS. Gosp. Mk. 1,17; here, however, verbal]; Ar. Ps. 45,12 *(anfoend)*; cp. 45,8 *andfenȝ*, in both cases gl. susceptor.

In Du. Ri. 193(7) occurs a gloss *under ondfoendo* for L. susceptores. As *underfōn* and *onfōn* both exist, but not a combination, **underonfōn*, I suggest to read this gloss: *under-* vel *on-foendo*. A word *underfond* also glosses susceptor Ps. L. 3,4; 53,6; 90,2, according to BT.

findend 'one who finds': repertor *findend* Germ. 391 a,9.

onfindend 'one who finds out': inventor *onfindend* vel ȝemetend Germ. 391 b,1.

ȝaldorȝalend 'enchanter'; marsi *ȝaldorȝalend* Cl. gl. 448[22]. As for other words rendering marsi, see Nap. gl., marsus (index).

ȝēotend 'artery': *ȝēotan* II 'to pour out, shed', anteriæ *ȝeotend* sinewind Cl. gl. 362[25]. For anteriæ, read with ed. arteriæ.

beȝietend 'one who obtains, gets'; conquirens, i. causans[1], meditans *beȝetend* Harl. gl. 214[26]. Perhaps an adj. is meant.

ȝrīpend, 'seizer, robber'; raptor strudend oððe *ȝripend* Cl. gl. 516[13].

durehealdend 'doorkeeper'; (ancilla) ostiaria (ðir ł sio þiȝnen) durehaldend ł dureueard Lind. J. 18,17.

oferhlēapend 'overleaper, one who jumps over': *oferhlēapan;* transilitor *oferhleapend* Ælfc voc. Suppl. 190[2].

dyrnliczend (only gpl.), 'fornicator'[2]: *dyrnliczan* 'to fornicate'; mecharum *dyrnlicendra* Cl. gl. 441[32].

forliczend = prec. word: *forliczan;* mechus ȝewemmend and *forliczend* Cl. gl. 447[20].

rædend 'interpreter, explainer, diviner': *rædan* 'to read (e. g. a riddle), explain'; (wiȝleres and) rædendes, gl. (arioli et) coniectoris Scint. 75$_8$.

Cp. rædend as a poetical word, see above, p. 135.

sciprōwend 'sailor'; nauta *sciprowend* Cl. gl. 455[14].

sāwend 'sower' is wrongly used to gloss seminatur Scint. 72[10], which L. form is no noun, but a verb.[3]

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[1] Causari in Med. L. often had the meaning of efficere (Du ca).

[2] Not given as a sb. in any dictionary, but the lemma and the sb *forliczend* justify us in regarding it as a sb.

[3] L.: fructus iustitiæ in pace seminatur facientibus pacem.

lēohtsāwend 'sower, bringer of light'; lucisator *leoht sawend* Germ. 389 b,1.

[forsāwend 'despiser'; contemptibilibus, i. indoctis *forsawendrum* Hpt. gl. 528 b[13]; Nap. gl. 1,5438. The word is, as Nap. presumes (note ibid.), a blending of *forseonde* and *forsawenlic.]*

tosceādend 'separator': *tosceādan* 'to divide, separate'. Gl. discretor, i. divisor Harl. gl. 223[30].

frumscieppend 'creator, originator' (of God); gl. auctor Du. Ri. 16(17); 122[5].

rihtscrīfend 'lawyer': *riht* 'right; justice; law' + *scrīfan* 'to decree; impose (penance)'; iurisconsultus, iurisperitus, i. e. *rihtscrifend,* sive domsettend Cl. gl. 429[6]; iurisconsultus ł iurisperitus *rihtscrifendom* Ælfc voc. 115[30], which should be read *rihtscrifend,* domsettend.[1]

sīȝend 'wave': *sīȝan (sēon)* 1, 'to fall, descend; ooze'. BT's translation 'a movement of the sea, wave' suggests an actional noun, which may not be quite impossible, though such an assumption seems unnecessary. In that case, fem. gender would be most likely, cp. *þēofend.* Occurs only in the pl. — flustris *siȝendum* Cl. gl. 399[15]; 490[5]; flustra, i. undæ *siȝend* Cl. gl. 403[37].[2]

The word might have been given under I 1, p. 131 f.

æftersinȝend 'succentor', gl. succentor Ælfc voc 129[23].[3]

foresinȝend 'precentor', gl. præcentor Ælfc voc 129[21].[3]

midsinȝend 'co-singer', gl. concentor Ælfc voc 120[25].[3]

āstīȝend 'rider', like the two following words translating ascensor, which in Med. L. generally means 'eques' (Du Ca); (hors and) *astiȝend* — L. (equum et) ascensorem Reg. Hy. 4,1; 4,4;[4] Eadw. 4,1.

onstīȝend = prec. word; VPs. Hy. 5,2. Cp. p. 112.

ūpstīȝend = prec. word; VPs. Hy. 5,34; 5,6; Eadw. Hy. 4,4. Cp. p. 96.

The corresponding cp. verb is only *āstīȝan,* but *on* has been substituted once by analogy; cp. also *upstiȝe,* nom actionis. — These *stīȝend*-cpp., evidently, are merely gloss-

[1] Lübke, Archiv 85,400.

[2] Flustrum = aqua uel unda crispans (Du Ca).

[3] Cantorum duo sunt in arte musica genera, Præcentor scilicet et succentor. Præcentor vocem præmittit in cantu; succentor canendo subsequenter respondet; concentor vero qui consonat (Du Ca). Cp. succentoria = succentoris dignitas.

[4] Cp. above, p. 88.

words, coined in order to render the L. ascensor more literally than the common *ridda* or some similar word would have done.

strūdend 'robber'; 'usurer'; raptor *strudend* oððe ȝripend Cl. gl. 516[13]; fenerator uel commodator uel creditor redditor lænend uel *strūde* Harl. gl. 237[40]. BT. and Sw. both give this record for the word *strūdend*, probably correctly, as *lænend* precedes. Otherwise, the commoner form *strūdere* suggests itself.

forswelȝend[1] 'swallower, Verschlingerin'; grassatix onhichiende vel *forswelȝend*, devoratrix Hpt. gl. 458 a_2; grassatrix, i. devoratrix, *forswelȝend*, onhiȝiende Nap. gl. 1,2209.[2] Cp. *onhīȝiende* p. 184.

tredend 'one who treads, treader'; calcatrix *tredend* Harl. gl. 197[9].

heofonwealdend[1] 'ruler of heaven, God'; arcitenens *heofonwealdend* Nap. gl. 23,10. See, further, above, p. 149 *(heofonhæbbend)*.

winnend[1] 'wrestler, fighter'; agonitheta *winnend* Abbo gl. Cler. Zup. 35.[3]

oferwinnend 'conqueror, vanquisher'; expugnatore (urbium) *oferwinnendum* (burȝa) Scint. 8_6.[4]

wiðwinnend 'opponent, enemy'; refragatur *wiðwinnend*[5] Cl. gl. 507[19]. Cp. also *onwinnend*, which is only recorded with weak adjectival flexion, but with clear substantival use: se wæs ȝodes þeȝen þe þa swiðost feaht wið heora *onwinnendan* L. S. 25,687.

yrfewrītend 'testator', gl. testator Ælfc voc. 114[43]. Cp. yrfeȝewrit 'will, testament'. — Simplex *wrītend* does not occur as a clear sb., but with weak adjectival flexion: þæt ȝewrit *þæs writendan* — L. scribentis Greg. 9[18].

[1] Not given in any dictionary.

[2] Devoratrix 'Verschlingerin'; grassatrix gl. bereafiȝende Nap. gl. 7,138; 8,114; cp. grassante, i. deprædante, onhniȝendre; grassator = 1) Herumstreicher 2) Raufbold, Bandit (Georges). See source of gloss.

[3] In classical L. agonitheta, agonotheta means 'Kampfvorsteher, Kampfrichter' (Georges), but in Med. L. it is often used for agonista 'bellator, pugil' (Du Ca); cp. also other O. E. glosses for it, as agonitheta *cempan* Nap. gl. 1,1334; agonithetis, i. principibus illius artis *wraxlerum* 1,3541; 1,221.

[4] Cp. above, p. 118.

[5] Read refragator (R. W.)

b. Formations from weak verbs.

bīecnend bēacniend 'indicator; forefinger', gl. L. index: *bicniend* Reg. Ps. 72,14; *becniend* Eadw. 72,14; *becnend* Cl. gl. 264[40]; *bycniend* Brussels gl. 291[23]; *becnend* scytefinger Cl. gl. 423[39]; used of persons, in the sense of 'indicator', bicnigend Scint. 135 $\frac{14}{3}$. — With the same meaning also occurs

gebīecnend, also gl. index *gebecnend* VPs. 72,14; Jun Ps. ib.; *gebicnigend* Scint. 214[2]; Germ. 393 a,51.

The different forms are regular for the different dialects; as for *bicniend*, it shows a blending between *bīecnan* 1, and *bēacnian*, 2, resulting in *bīecnian*. VPs. *gebecnend* : *bīecnan*, 1, but Eadw. *becniend* : *bēacnian*; the stem vowels of both verbs became identical in late Kentish.[1]

borgiend 'money-lender; usurer'. Gl. fenerator *borhgiend* Reg. Ps. 108,11; *borgiend* Ar. Ps. ib.; also Spl. and Lamb. Ps., according to BT. The word should be distinguished from *borhhand*.[2]

bycgend 'buyer, purchaser'; emptor *beccen* Kent. gl. 738; cp. forms of *becgan* ib. 895; 1140.

endebyrdend 'arranger, one who orders' : *endebyrdan* 'to arrange, order, dispose'; gl. conditor Nap. gl. 8,335; 7,35 (Ms. *endebyrded*).

bismeriend 'mocker, derider' : *bismerian* 'to mock, insult, deride'; omnis inlusor el *bismeriend* Kent gl. 60; inlusor *bismeriend* 298.[3] Bouterw. supposes this word to be meant in Hpt. gl. 507 b[3]: insultatores, i. illusores *dras*. That is possible, but it may quite as well be *hyspendras*, cp. insultantes, i. exprobrantes gehispende, *bysmriende* Nap. gl. 1,1474; insultantes *onhys* 7,78; *hys* 8,95; ut adludit ealswa *bysmrað* 46,37; dedecus unæerisne *bismer* 1,4309.

ācennend (sb?) (only dpl.), 'parents' : *cennan* 'to bear (child)'; parentibus aldrum vel *acennendum* Du. Ri. 197[11]. — The ptc. is probably used substantivally only to give a literal translation.

ciricend 'ecclesiastic'; glosses in the dpl. *ciricendrum* L. ecclesiasticus Lind. Mt. I 8[10]: mortuis magis hereticis quam ecclesiasticis vivis. No corresponding verb is recorded. In other passages L. ecclesiasticus is glossed *cyriclic* (Nap. gl. 1,1178; 1,2272; 1,3691; 1,4082), *geleaf[ful]* (Nap. gl. 1,5302).

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[1] See Bülbring, § 318.

[2] See above, p. 79.

[3] In his dictionary, BT. translates 'deceiver'; in the supplement Toller gives the sense of 'mocker, scorner', a change which seems quite correct, since a sense 'to deceive' is not recorded for the O. E. verb.

ēarclǣsnend 'ear-cleaner' (of little finger): *ēare* + *clǣsnian* (< *clǣnsian*, Bülbr. § 523) 'to cleanse'; glosses auricularius Cl. gl. 265[1]. Cp. *ēarfinger* and *ēarscripel*, see above, pp. 61 f., 70.

cwellend 'a killer, slayer'; sector *cwellend* Germ. 400,529.[1]

ondǣlend 'infuser' : *ondǣlan* 'to infuse'. Both words only in Northu.; (mægna sellend and bloedsunga) *ondǣlend* — L. (virtutum dator et benedictionum) infusor Du. Ri. 103_3.

fordēmend (only gdpl, but cp. *dēmend*) 'condemner'; ab accusatoribus from henendum ł *f'doemendum* Lind. J. I 5,9; [damnatorum *fordemendra*, proscriptorum Hpt. gl. 488a[7] = Nap. gl. 1,3479, where, however, *fordemendra* should be read *fordemedra*; cp. Napier.]

dihtend 'director, ruler' : *dihtan* 'to set in order, arrange, direct'; dispensator i. gubernator, *dihtend*, wicnere Nap. gl. 1,1997 = Hpt. gl. 453b[7].

yfeldōnd 'evildoer'; malefactor *yfeldoend* Lind. J. 18,30.

fadiend[2] 'arranger, director, disposer' : *fadian* 'to set in order, arrange, direct'; moderator *fadiend* Nap. gl. 56,308.

endefæstend 'one who puts the last touches to a work, a finisher'[3] (BT.) 'one who fastens thoroughly' (in auctorem fidei et) consummatorem *endefæstend* Du. Ri. 27(20); (ecclesie tuæ redemptor atque) profector lesend and ec *ðerh endefæst* 30(9). Cp. next word.

þurh-fæstend = prec. word.[2] The only record for the word is the one given under *endefæstend: þerh endefæst* Du. Ri. 30(a) gl. profector which cannot be interpreted in any other way than as *þurhfæstend vel endefæstend*. As regards the meaning of the word, 'one who fastens thoroughly', cp. *þurhclǣsnian* 'to cleanse thoroughly', *þurhbrūcan* 'to enjoy thoroughly', *þurh-hālan* 'to heal thoroughly'.

æwiscfireniend 'shameless sinner' : *firenian* 'to sin'; puplicani *æwiscferinend* Cl. gl. 480[3]; the recorded form will be due to miswriting of *ferinend* for *firenend*.

āflīemend[2] (only gpl) 'expeller, one who drives away'; excussorum *aflimendra* ł wrorhtberendra Ar. Ps. 126,4. The two glosses must not, of course, be thought to be synonymous; they are intended to give two possible translations of the lemma.

[1] Sector in Med. L. = interfector (Du Ca).

[2] Not given in any dictionary.

[3] *ende* has here assumed almost adverbial meaning : 'finally, ultimately + completely'; cp. *ende-dōgor* 'final, last day'. Cp. Sw. *slut* in *slutuppgörelse*.

Excussor has been interpreted 1) as 'wegtreiber expeller' *aflimend* — that is the only possible meaning of *aflimend* — 2) as 'accuser', *wrohtberend*, cp. this word, p. 148 and footnote.

forefrēfrend[1] : proconsul *f'e froefrend* I Du. Ri. 190[9]. — The word, of course, is a linguistic monster, intended to be a literal transl. of proconsul, the last member of which word has been misinterpreted as consolator.

ȝefrīȝend 'liberator' gl. L. liberator VPs. 17,3; 48; 39,18; 143,2 : *ȝefrēoȝan* 'to make free'. The vowel is quite regular in Mercian (Bülbr. § 197).

The word offers another example of double *end*-nouns of the same verb, formed at different periods, cp. *frēond*. In the present case, the meaning of the word differs from that of the older formation, the two words originating from different senses of the verb in question.

frīolsend = prec. word : *frēolsian* 'to liberate, deliver'. Gl. also L. liberator in another Ps. version, viz. Eadw. 17,3; 48; 69,6; 77,35; 143,2.

ȝefultumiend 'helper, supporter' gl. fautor Cl. gl. 401[11]; adjutor Ar. Ps. 9,10; 35; 17,3(2×); 18,15; 145,5.

tofultomiend = prec. word; gl. adjutor Eadw. 145,5.

ȝefylstend = prec. word; gl. adjutor Reg. Ps. 17,3(2×); 18,15; 26,9; 29,11; 51,9; 58,18; 61,3; 62,8; 70,7; Hy. 4,2; Eadw. 17,3(2×); 18,15; 26,9; Ar. 58,18; 62,8.[2]

sunfolȝend 'heliotrope', gl. solisequia Co. S 396. Cp. *solsēce*.

edȝyldend 'remunerator' gl. renumerator Scint. 127$_3$.

hælsend 'augur' : *hælsian* 'to observe omens'; gl. exticipes, haruspices Co. E 484; Cl. gl. 393[14].[3]

hæmend[1] 'fornicator' gl. incestator Cl. gl. 420[13].

dirnhæmend (only gpl, but cp. *hæmend*) = prec. word; cestarum *dirnhæmendra* Cl. gl. 383[40].[4]

hālettend 'greeter', name of the middle finger : *hālettan, hælettan* 'to salute, greet, hail'; salutarius midemesta finȝer Cl. gl. 264[41]; salutaris *hæletend* Br. gl. 291[24].

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[1] Not given in any dictionary.

[2] As for the different translations of adjutor in different Ps. gl., see Wildhagen, Psalter des Eadwine, p. 13.

[3] See above, p. 90.

[4] Cestarum for incestarum (BT. suppl.)

This glossing shows perfectly well that the names of fingers occurring in the glossaries, such as *bīecnend*, *hālettend*, *ēwiscberend*, etc. were not really used in O. E. speech, but only to render more or less literally the L. names. Salutarius was in L. a designation of the forefinger, but one of the O. E. glosses, viz., Cl. gl. 264[4] (se midemesta finȝer), shows that the word was misunderstood by the Anglo-Saxon glossator.

hatiȝend 'hater, enemy'; and nama osor (osoris) feond oððe *hatiȝend* Ælfc gr 205[8].

Cp. *hettend* and what was said on *frēond* and *ȝefrēoȝend* above, p. 183.

hearpiȝend(e?) sb. or ptc.(?) 'one who plays on a harp'; timpanistriarum *hearpiȝendra* ł pleȝȝendra Ar. Ps. 67,26.

heriend[1] 'ravager' : *herian* 'to ravage'; grassator *herȝiend* and ahiðend Cl. gl. 412[19].

forheriend = prec. word grassator *ferherȝend* Ep. Erf. 467; *forherȝend* Co. G 153. — Cp. grassator latro Ep. 10 E 21 (Schlutter's edition).

[*onhiȝiende*, a most uncertain word, see its only record Nap. gl. 1,2209 (Nap. note), (Hpt. gl. 458a$_2$) : grassatrix, i. devoratrix, forswelȝend, *onhiȝiende*.]

hīenend (only dpl), 'one who humiliates, insults' : *hīenan* 'to humble, humiliate, insult'; accusatoribus *henendum* Lind. J. I 5,9. The glossing, consequently, is not quite correct.

synnehȳrend[2] 'ismahelite' : (tabernacula idumeorum et) hismahelitum (ȝeteld þara eorðlicra) *synnehyrendra* Reg. Ps. 82,7; *synnahyrendra* ismahelite Ar. Ps. ibid. If the word is correctly recorded, it must mean 'sin-hearer, sin-obeyer', 'sinner' (in contrast to the pious Israelites), cp. *hīera* 'subject', but the retention of the composition-joint is irregular (cp. other cpp. with *synn*), and rather points to some mistake.[3] The meaning of the Hebrew word Ismael is 'God hears', and one would think that the glossator's intention has been to give the proper meaning of the word, though he has made a

[1] Not given in any dictionary.

[2] Not given in any dictionary, but registered by Schlutter, ESt. 38,23.

[3] The retention of the vowel could possibly be explained by assuming another type of composition, viz. with the gpl.; cp. the form in Ar. Ps.

mistake or been guilty of some misunderstanding. But, at any rate, the word, as it stands, must mean, 'sinners, sinful people'.

[*hīwiend* 'a former, shaper' : *hīwian* 'to shape, fashion, form'. It is possible that Nap. is right in interpreting *niwiend* as *hīwiend* in Nap. gl. 1,365 : informator, i. plasmator *ȝestaðeliend, niwiend.*[1] "It seems likely that the glossator misread informator as reformator and took it to mean 'renewer'" (Nap.). This emendation is, however, not certainly correct. Even if informator[2] is meant and thought of, the gloss *niwiend* can be accounted for. *ȝeedstaðelian* and *ȝeednīwian* are, in fact, synonymous, meaning 'restorer'. When, therefore, *ȝestaðeliend* was used to gloss informator, plasmator, the glossator might well be reminded of *(ȝe)nīwiend* as meaning much the same [*ȝeedstaðelian : ȝeednīwian = (ȝe)staðeliend : (ȝe)nīwiend*], though, of course, the glossing is not very careful. A 'renewer' is a sort of 'plasmator' too, and such slight inadvertencies in rendering the L. words in the glosses, are, as is well known, extremely common.].

hliniend 'recliner, one who leans'; accubitor *hliniend* inclinator Hpt. gl. 414b[18].

lārhlystend 'catechumen'; catechumenos ȝecristnade *larhlestendras*, marg. ȝecristnad catecuminus Hpt. gl. $473b_{3,2}$ = Nap. gl. 1,2881. — Commoner in the form of

(ȝe)lēafhlystend = prec. word; catacumini, i. audientis *ȝeleafhlystendes*, ȝecristnodes Nap. gl. 1,2207 = Hpt. gl. $458a_5$; cp. conpetentium *ȝeleafhlystendra* Nap. gl. 2,69; competentes *ȝeleafhlystende* 7,202; 8,158; catechumenus *ȝeleafhlestend* Hpt. gl. 457a[12]; catacuminorum, i. auditorum *leafhlestendra* Nap. gl. 1,2190 = Hpt. gl. 458a[7]. — The words are formed from *lār*, 'doctrine', resp. *ȝelēafa* 'faith', + *hlystan* 'to listen'.

ymbhrinȝend (only dpl) 'attendant' : *ymbhrinȝan*, 'to surround'; stipatoribus *ymbhrinȝendum* Ep. 929; Co. S. 533. Cp. Erf. 929 *ymbdrinȝendum* (r. *ymbþrinȝendum*).[3]

ȝehwæriend, see. *ȝeþwæriend.*

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[1] Nap., note ib.: "No doubt miscopied for *hiwiend* (*h* with short upper stroke is very like *n*)".

[2] = 'Bildner'.

[3] *stipator* 'Trabant' (Georges).

hyscend 'mocker, derider' : *hyscan* 'to mock, deride, reproach'; convitiator *hiscend* Germ. 398,102.[1]

hyspend [2] 'scorner, reviler' : *hyspan* 'to scorn, revile'; gl. calumniatorem *hyspend* Reg. Ps. 71,4; cp. *hyspendes* gl. exprobantis (substantival) Reg. Eadw. Ps. 43,17 (Ar. Ps. *hispendra*). — Cp. also *bysmeriend* above, p. 181.

āhȳðend 'plunderer'; grassator herȝiend and *ahiðend* Cl. gl. 412^{19}; cp. grassantibus *hiðendum* 414^{27}.

ïecend 'increaser, one who augments'; hic auctor þes *icend* Ælfc gr. 48^{12}.

foreiernend 'predecessor'; antecessor *foreiernend* Cl. gl. 339^{6}.

belādiend 'excuser' : *belādian* 'to exculpate, clear'; excusator *beladiend* Ælfc gl. 317^{12}.

ālādiend = prec. word, gl. excussor Jun. Ps. 126,4.

lǣdend = prec. word, see p. 156.

inlaðiend 'inviter'; Scint. 170_{8} (see p. 118).

lēaniend [2] 'remunerator', 'revenger'; gl. remunerator, Hpt gl. 424 b^{10}: 492 a^{1}; Nap. gl. 1,767; ultrix vindicatrix Hpt gl. 496 a^{5}; Nap. gl. 1,3816 (cp. p. 118).

The word is not, it is true, recorded in substantival forms, but its meaning and the parallel formations (*edlēaniend*, *ȝeedlēaniend* etc.) justify us in regarding it as a sb.

ȝeedlēaniend = prec. word; remunerator *ȝeedleanend* VPs. Hy. 13,28.

eftlēaniend : **eftlēanian*, cp. *eftlēan*, n. 'recompense'; remunerator *eftlean'end* Du. Ri. 89(10).

lettend 'hinderer' : lettan 'to hinder'; is "dem Nativitätslunar in Tib. A. III fol. 36^{b} zu entnehmen, wo ein lat. adversus impeditor erit glossiert ist mit widerweard *letted* (f. lettend, also n-balken vergessen) he bið".[3]

belīfend(r)as 'remaining people, survivors'; *belīfan* 'to remain'; superstites, i. laua (r. lafa) *belifendreas*, beliuene Hpt. gl. 484 a^{3}; superstites, i. vivi, lafa, *beliuendras* Nap. gl. 1,3318; superstites, i. vivi, *belifendes* 2,190 (r. *belifendas*).

eftlīesend 'deliverer, redeemer' : **eftlīesan*, cp. *eftlesing* Du. Ri.; redemptor *eftlesend* Du. Ri. 126,(6). *Eft* is evidently used as an equivalent of L. *re-*.

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[1] *conviciator* 'Schmäher, Lästerer' (Georges).

[2] Not given in any dictionary.

[3] M. Förster, ESt. 39,349.

tōlīesend 'destroyer' : *tōlīesan* 'to dissolve, loosen; to destroy' desolator, vastator, westend vel *tolysend* Harl. gl. 220[13].

in-, onlīehtend 'illuminator' : *onlīehtan* 'to illuminate; enlighten'; of God, gl. illuminator Du. Ri. 5(2); inluminatio Ar. Ps. 26,1

maðeliend (only gpl), 'orator' : *maðelian* 'to speak'; concionatorum wordriendra locutorum rethorum, marg. bannendra, *maðeliendra* Hpt. gl. 460 b_7; so also Nap. gl. 1,2321.

Perhaps only a verbal form.

ȝemētend 'finder' : *ȝemētan* 'to find, discover'; inventor onfindend and *ȝemetend* Germ. 391 b,1.

nīwiend 'restorer' : *nīwian* 'to restore, renew'; informator, i. plasmator ȝestaðeliend, *niwiend* Nap. gl. 1,365; Hpt. gl. has only ȝestaðeliend. — If *nīwiend* is correct, the L. lemma is not the exact equivalent. Nap. reads *hīwiend;* see that word.

pleȝend(e?), sb. or ptc.(?) (only gpl); *pleȝȝendra* gl. timpanistriarum Ar. Ps. 67,26 (see *hearpiȝende* above, p. 184).

rīcsend 'ruler' : *rīcsian* 'to rule, reign'; rector *ricsand* Du. Ri. 102[8]; *ricsend* 164[5] (both times of God).

scēawiend 'onlooker'; spectatoribus *sceawendrum* Nap. gl. 4,58; *sceawiendrum* 7,250.

leohtscēawiend 'light-seer', gl. lucivida Cl. gl. 434[20]. The dictionaries give an adj. 'light-seeing'; cp., however, p. 78.

scȳ(h)end 'seducer, corrupter' : *scȳ(h)an* 'to prompt, urge, suggest'; gl. maulistis[1] Co. M. 40; Leid. XLVII 35; Cl. gl. 443[3]. Cp. O. H. G. *scūhenti* 'exhortans'.

dōmsettend 'lawyer, judge' : *dōm+settan* 'establish (law)'; cp. *domsetl;* iurisconsultus, iurisperitus, i. e. rihtscrifend, sive *domsettend* Cl. gl. 429[6].

sēðend 'affirmer, asserter'; *sēðend* stipulatorem Nap. gl. 1,5371 = Hpt. gl. 527 a_5.

ȝesēðend = prec. word; connuntiator, i. adsertor *ȝeseðend* Harl. gl. 214[30].

siȝoriend 'victor' : *siȝorian* 'to vanquish, triumph over'; *siȝriend* victor Hymn. Surt. 38,7 according to BT.

forspennend 'procurer' : *forspennan* 'to entice, allure'; leno *forspennend* Ælfc gr. 36[11].[2]

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[1] *μαυλιστής* 'a pandar'.

[2] leno 'Kuppler, Verführer der Jugend zu Ausschweifungen' (Georges).

spillend (only gpl) : *spillan* 'to destroy, mutilate' and

onspillend (only gpl) : **onspillan* (= prec. verb);
parasitorum swilra, ȝliwra, marg. *spillendra* Hpt gl. 422 a_3; parasitorum *onspillendra* New Aldh. gl. 29.

Parasitus here stands in its Med. sense: parasitus 'famulus domesticus, qui de mensa domini victitat', also especially, 'lanio' (Du Ca[1]). Cp. other glosses for the word: swilre ȝliwera Nap. gl. 1,679, where for *swilre* is to be read *spilre* Nap. ibid.); 2,12; 4,18; ȝliwra, cnihta, forspillendra þena 1,4165 = Hpt. gl. 504 a[19]. The gloss, in any case, only partially renders the sense of the lemma.

āspyriend 'investigator' gl. investigator VPs Hy. 13,25.

ȝestaðeliend 'founder, establisher' : *ȝestaðolian* 'to found, build, establish'; informator, i. plasmator *ȝestaðeliend*, niwiend Nap. gl. 1,365 = Hpt gl. 415 a[3].

tōstencend 'prodigal' : *tōstencan* 'to disperse; dissipate, destroy'; prodigus *tostencend* Abbo Cler. gl. Zup. 167.

āstyriend 'stirrer' : *āstyrian* 'to agitate, raise'; 'move'; ventilator[2] *astyriȝend* Germ. 393 a, 78.

strīenend 'acquirer', (ealra) *strinend* (he *bið*) —L. (*omnium*) adquisitor (erit) Geburtslunar Tib. A III Arch. 129,19[2, 4].[3]

tācnend 'one that shows or points out, indicator' perhaps 'forefinger'[4] (cp. *bīecnend*) : *tācnian, tācnian* 'to show, point out', index *tæcnendi* torcten[di] Ep. Erf. 544; *tacnendi* Co. I 216; index *tæcned* Cl. gl. 426[38] (read *tæcnend*, with Sievers, ibid).

ātendend(e?), sb. or ptc. (?) (only dsg with *-um*), 'inflamer, inciter'; (fram) *atendendum* (his deofle byð ȝeþræst) — L. (ab) accensore (suo demone punguetur) Scint. 208[3].

fortyhtend 'enticer, seducer' : *fortyhtan* 'to draw away, mislead, seduce'; clinice, i. lectus, tetrus *fortihtend* Harl. gl. 205[35]; another record of this word is probably also Nap. gl. 1,3337: *fortyhtiȝend* incestator, i. maculator, which according to Nap. (foot-note ibid.) "should be *fortyhtend*". A verb **tyhtian* is not recorded.

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[1] The gloss goes back to Aldh., De laud. virg. XI 6 (p. 110, ed Migne.): Lucifer parasitorum sodalibus vallatus et apostatarum satellitibus glomeratus.

[2] Ventilator 'Antreiber' (Georges).

[3] See ESt. 39,352.

[4] Sievers, Anglia 13,329.

What the lemma of the gloss Harl. 205[35] means, I do not venture to decide. An attempt to interpret it has been made by Schlutter.[1]

ȝeþeahtend 'counsellor' gl. consiliarius[2] Coll. Ælfc 99^{1}_{2}; 100^{7}.

þēodend 'translator' : *ȝeþēodan* 'to translate'; cp. *ȝeþēode* 'translation'; gl. translator Nap. gl. 15,6.[3]

þrēaȝend (only gsg) 'reprover': *þrēaȝan* 'to rebuke; oppress'; correctoris *þreaȝendes* Hpt gl. 527 $b^{9\,4}$ = Nap. gl. 1,5380.

þrēatend, 'a violent person': *þrēatian* 'to urge, press; threaten'; violenti ðæm *ðreatende* vel nedunȝa Lind. Mt. 11,12; violenti ðæm nedende vel ðæm *þreatende* 5,42; *þreaddende* Mt. I 17^{4}; *ðreat'ū* L. I 10^{3}.

weccend 'mover, stirrer, inciter': *weccan* 'to arouse; move, stir up' incitator *weccend* Germ. 393a,67.

dryhtwēmend 'bridesman': *dryth*[5] + *wēman* 'to (persuade) announce' paranymphus witumbora drihtwemend Hpt. gl. $448a_{15}$; paranymphus, i. paranimpha est pronuba, witumbora *drihtwemend* drihtwemere Nap. gl. 1,1774; cp. Napier, foot-note ibid.

wemmend properly 'defiler', especially 'fornicator, adulterer': *wemman*, to defile, pollute' which verb is also used in that somewhat specialized sense;[6] scortator, i. adulter, fornicator *wemmend* Hpt. gl. $484b^{22}$ = Nap. gl. 1,3339.

[1] Anglia 19,475.

[2] Cp. Schröder, ZfdA 41,290.

[3] The form *þeoden mine*, occurring in Dan. 413 (where Grein takes it to stand for *þeode mine*), is emendated by Hofer, Entstehung des Daniel, Anglia 12, into *þeodend mine*. Hofer supports this emendation by referring to the occasional loss of final *d* in *end*-nouns. He assumes it to be a formation from *þēodan* = subjungere, subjugare, which he compares to Goth. *þiudanōnds*. Against this, however, must be remarked that the O. E. verb is not recorded in such a sense. Besides, this verb, as well as an *end*-noun formed from it (**þēodend*), cannot be at all identified with Goth. *þiudanōn* and *þiudanōnds*, since a corresponding O. E. form would be **þēodenian* and *þēodeniend*. Moreover, it would be rather curious if a king should use such an epithet of his subjects when addressing them. Grein's reading is no doubt the right one.

[4] Bouterwek gives, wrongly, the L. lemma as correctores and reads consequently, *þreaȝendas*. See Hausknecht's collation, Anglia 6,102.

[5] As regards the first member of the word, cp. O. H. G. *truhtigomo*, O. E *dryhtȝuma* with the same sense. In O. Frs. (not in O. E.) *dracht*, *drecht* recorded in the sense of 'Brautgefolge' (< 'Schar, Gefolge') Richthofen).

[6] ȝif be oðres ceorles wif wemme (maculaverit) L. Ecȝb. (BT.)

ȝewemmend = prec. word; mechus *ȝewemmend* and forlicȝend Cl. gl. 447[20].[1]

wendend 'that which turns round'; vertigo *wendend* Cl. gl. 489[12]. The gloss goes back to Aldh., De laud. virg. 111[1]: quam teres vertigo cœli in modum rotantis fundibali circumgyrat. In Nap. gl. 1,6938 the passage occurs glossed thus: vertigo, a vertendo, i. tempestas, tyrincȝe. In general, L. vertigo is glossed by a nomen actionis. The use of *wendend* is here probably due to carelessness on the part of the glossator.

weorðiȝend 'moneylender': *weorðian* 'to value, esteem; worship, not recorded with just this meaing; fenerator weorðiȝende Eadw. Ps. 108,11; so also (according to BT.) Spelm. Ps.

rōdweorðiȝend 'worshipper of the cross'; crucicola, i. crucis adorator, marg. vel -e *rod wurðiend* Hpt. gl. 403b$_{17}$.

wēstend 'destroyer, waster': *wēstan* 'to waste, ravage'; desolator, vastator, *westend*, tolysend Harl. gl. 220[13]; exterminator, vastator, *westend*, ytend ibid. 232[37].

ȝewieldend 'subduer, treader': *ȝewieldan* 'to subdue, control'; predomitor *ȝewyldend* Germ. 391a,12.

ymbwlātend 'spectator, observer': *ymbwlātian* 'to observe, contemplate', catascopus *emwlatend* Abbo Cler. Zup. 127; spectatoribus, i. speculatoribus *emwlatenddum* Nap. gl. 1,3507; attonitis spectatoribus, i. stupefactis, attentis speculatoribus marg. ablidedcedum *emwlatendoum* (read: ablidedum emwlatiendum accord. to Bouterwek) Hpt. gl. 488b$_{15}$.

tīdymbwlātend 'astrologer'; oroscopus *tid emwlatend* Abbo Cler. gl. 135. The words should probably be read together, as forming one word, not *tīd- vel ymbwlatend:*

wordliend(e?) sb. or ptc. (?) (only gpl.) 'talker, discourser'; contionatorum, i. rethorum, bannendra, maðeliendra', *wordliendra* Nap. gl. 1,2321 = Hpt. gl. 460b$_9$, where, however, the form *wordriendra* is met with. A verb *wordrian* is non-existent.

wōriend 'vagabond': *wōrian* 'to wander'; vagabundis, i. errantibus *woriendum* i. vagabundus *woriend* Hpt. gl. 484b[21,25].

wrǣstliend (only gpl.) 'wrestler'; luctatorum *wræstliendra* Cl. gl. 431[25].

wrēhtend 'accuser': *wrēȝan* 'to accuse'; accusator sui *wrehten* his selfes Kent. gl. 650. The form may be explained by assuming

[1] Onwemmendra immaculatorum Reg. Ps. 36[17], wrong f. unwemmedra.

influence from *wrōht* and the synonymous *wrohtberend*, *-bora*. It is also sometimes found in the pret. of the verb, e. g. Ælfc Hom. I. 478[17].

wrehtend 'exciter': *wreccan, wreahte* 'to rouse, excite'; incentor *wrehtend* tyhtend Cl. gl. 420[29].

ȳtend 'expeller': *ȳtan* 'to expel' (: *ūt*); exterminator, vastator west-end *ytend* Harl. gl. 232[37].

Character of end-nouns discussed. The above inventory of O. E. *end*-nouns has shown a very large stock of such formations on record in O. E. We will now proceed to a somewhat closer examination of the material, from several points of view, some of which have already been indicated by the classification adopted.

a) Form and Gender of end-nouns.

Form of the suffix. The *form* of the *suffix* has already been discussed at some length in the excursus devoted to the flexion of substantivized pr. ptcc., and it will be quite sufficient here to refer the reader to that part of my treatise, see above, p. 83 ff. With regard to the substitution of *-end* for *-iend* in certain *end*-nouns (as well as ptc.), see Note above, p. 155. Another well-known phenomenon, viz., the contractions sometimes found in the case of verb stems ending in a stressed vowel, e. g., *anfōnd* for *anfōend*, need scarcely be pointed out.

end-nouns and their primitive words. As a matter of course, the agential *end*-nouns always belong to verbs still living in O. E. It is true that there are a few isolated cases where there are no verbs recorded, but then we certainly must presuppose the existence of such a verb, or, at least, we may take for granted that the verb existed in germ, and could be formed whenever neccessary. Such cases are — I leave out of consideration the poetical cpp.-groups and those cpp. in *-end* in general that have a subst. as first element in the case of which, of course, there generally existed no compound verb directly corresponding to the compound *end*-noun in question —: *onspecend* (but cp. *onsprǣc* and *onspeca*); *midspecend; ciricend; eftlēaniend* (but cp. *eftlēan*); *eftlīesend* (cp. *eftlēsing*). In the case of only one of the quoted words might there be some slight hesitation, viz., in the case of *ciricend*, the nearest relative of which is the sb. *cirice* 'church', but doubtless a verb**cirician* 'to belong to lhe church, to be faithful to the church' formed itself in the mind of the Northu. writer when he coined the subst. *ciricend* as a gloss for the L. ecclesiasticus.

Gender of end-nouns.

As regards the *gender* of *end*-nouns, this does not exhibit any particular peculiarities, yet it affords some few points of interest.

End-nouns, like most ag.-n., are *masc.*, with the exception only of *swelȝend*, often (and originally) fem (see above p. 131) and, alternatively, of the other three words that are given by Sievers,[1] viz., *fēond, wealdend* and *timbrend* (masc. and fem.).

fēond: hic et hæc hostis *þes* and *þeos feond* Ælfc gr. 53[13].
wealdend: hic et hæc præsul *þes* and *þeos wealdend* Ælfc gr. 39[12].
timbrend: st Hilda - - - seo wæs *seo æryste timbrend* þæs mynstres þe is nemned Streoneshealh Mart. 206[18].

In the case of *fēond* and *wealdend*, in Ælfric's grammatical work, the fem. gender is only used in direct imitation of the L. expression, yet they show, as does still more clearly the record of *timbrend*, that fem. construction with these words was a possibility of the O. E. language, though this possibility was never developed or turned to account. *End*-nouns are often used for feminines but, with the exceptions quoted, always with masc construction. They could be used as fem., if some special reason rendered that desirable, as for instance, when the L. original had 'hic et hæc' before the word to be rendered in O. E. by an end-noun; but they generally were not.

In the following cases we find *end*-nouns used of feminines.

1) ***with adjectival flexion*** (ending ***-e***)

[***dǣlnimmende:*** þeowenne, þæt heo sy *dælnimende* ðas heofonlican rices L. S. XXXIII 55].
fērende: wiht - - -, fæȝer *fērende* fundað æfre Rä. 84,5.
ȝelǣcende: gl. emula Germ. 391b,27.
wyrcende: unrotnysse þe is deaðes *wyrcende* Ags. Min. IX43 Ms. Tib. (Anglia 11,113), cp. below.

The first three instances are, however, quite inconclusive, cp. above p. 111 ff. — In the last instance, one might be inclined to suppose that the ending has been used on account of the fem. gender of the word referred to, just in order to create a form somewhat different from the usual masc. substantival one; yet one fails to see why the author should have had recourse to such an expedient, so ill adapted to its purpose. Cp. also above p. 115 f.

[1] Ags. Gr. § 287. Sievers also mentions *londbūend*, 'colony'; such non-agential formations with *-end* are here, however, left altogether out of consideration.

2) *with ordinary substantival form:*

berend gl. gerula Cl. gl. 505[29].

tredend gl. calcatrix Harl. gl. 197[9].

arizend: heo wæs wudewena and steopcilda *arizend* and ealra earmra and ȝeswincendra *frefriend* Mildred 430[2].

frēfriend, see preceding word.

friðiend: cyrcan - - - heo bið ure *friðjend* and *werizend* wid ðæt micele fyr on domes dæȝ Wulfst. 239[7].

lufiend: þu cwen lare *lufiȝend* Ap. Tyr. 28[15].

neriend: cyrice bið ure scyld and *nerjend* on domes dæȝ wið ðæt micle fyr Wulfst. 302[29] (cp. above *friðiend*; should not, however, *neriend* be altered into *weriend*?).

rihtraciend: seo boc (Ecclesiastes) is aȝendlice on Ænglisc *rihtraciend* ȝehaten Greg. 264[27]; 265[5]; cp. þurh rædinȝe þæs *rihtraciendes* 265[4].

weriend, see above, *friðiend* (cp. *neriend*).

wissiȝend: seo wyln bið ðære hlæfdian *wissiȝend* L. S. XVII[11].

wyrcend: unrotnysse þe is deaðes wyrcend Ags. Min. IX[43] (Anglia 11,113), cp. above, p. 193.

The above records justify us in regarding the O. E. nom. ag. in *-end* as being of epicene gender, i. e., masc. as regards form and flexion and construction, but with possible application to feminines as well to as masculines (denoting either sex). Exceptionally they appear with common gender (see above).[1] The same will be found, in general, to hold good for the other agent-forming suffixes as well.

b) Semology of end-nouns.

It is a conspicuous feature of the semological structure, so to speak, of O. E. ag.-n. in *-end* that they are almost exclusively used of persons (person-designating ag.-n). Only a very few words of a different character are to be found. The cases on record may be arranged as follows:

1) *designations of various concrete things: swelȝend, ȝeswelȝend, wendend, sīȝend;* especially words relating to parts of the human body, above all names of fingers: *ēwiscberend, bīecnend, ēarclǣsnend, hālettend, foreceorfend* (all literal translations of L. designations of the things in question); *ȝēotend; stīȝend.*

[1] The terms *epicene* and *common* gender used in accordance with Noreen's terminology, see Vårt Språk V,3, p. 312 ff.

2) ***grammatical terms:*** *dǣlnimend, speliend*

3) ***person-designating words in transferred sense:*** *rihtraciend*

4) ***plant-names:*** *hwatend* (of uncertain etymology), *sunfolȝend*

5) ***designations of groups of animals:*** *crēopende, lyftflēoȝende, laȝuswimmende, lyftlācende* (once used of birds), *līðend* Gen. 1472 perhaps, but probably not (see above p. 135); noteworthy is, however, that in all the given cases, except *crēopende,* the words are not true names of the animal-groups in question; they are only used as kennings for the proper appellative designations.

Compared with the large number of the remaining *end*-nouns, which are all person-designating, the cases mentioned will thus be found to represent only exceptional uses of the suffix. It is also to be observed that the majority of the formations adduced (especially under 1, 2, and 4) have the character of gloss-words.

The person-designating end-nouns, especially the poetical ones, are, as has already been intimated, to a great extent kennings. Such was found to be the case with the cpp.-groups containing as agent-forming last member *berend, rǣdend, sittende, wīȝend, āȝende, būend(e), fremmende, hæbbende, wunigende, wyrcende* (cp. above *lyftlēoȝende laȝuswimmende, lyftlācende*), so also with *moldhrērende* and with the simple words *scēotend* and *sciepþend* (probably). A few of the cpp. stand just between ordinary designations of and kennings for a certain idea; such is the case with the *līðend*-group (cp. alse *wīȝend*-cpp.): the poetical use of the several words, except in the case of *sciplīðende,* rather refer them to the class of kennings. [Some of the poetical words the agential character of which is a little doubtful are not exactly kennings, only *variations.*[1]] Also a great number of other *end*-nouns, above all those representing various designations of the Deity, will have to be included in the category of kennings, or they are at least very closely allied to them.

Assertive and denominational end-nouns.

If the points of view from which ag.-n. in general were considered in the introduction are taken up in the case of the words now under consideration, we shall find words representing (though in greater or lesser numbers) almost all the several categories established there. For the proper understanding of the following classification, the instances of each separate word given in the preceding parts of my treatise must be compared, since I cannot, of course, from considerations of space, give any of them over again here.

[1] Cp. the work of Paetzel, referred to above, p. 109.

I. Assertive end-nouns.

1. Poetical words.

a Kennings (and similar words).

benc- flet-[1], *heallsittende; (calo)drincende* (cp. prose *drincende* and *wīndrincende)*; *lācende*-cpp., e. g. Wolf. 5;[2] *līðend*, sometimes also *līðend-cpp.*,[2] e. g. *sælīðend* Walf. 48; *wæȝlīðende* Walf. 11, Gen. 1395, 1432; *merelīðende* Gen. 1407; A. 353; *meðelhēȝende*, if really substantival.

b. Poetical end-nouns other than kennings.

feormiend 'supplier'; *fērend* Walf. 25; *wyrcend*[2] Par. Ps. 113,17;[3] *brinȝend*[4] *lēdend*[4]; *myndȝiend; spyriend; frēfrend*[2] Par. Ps. 68,21;

Here belong also the majority of ptcc. used occasionally as subst.: *cwāniendra* (cirm); *byrnendra* (scole); *drȳmendra* (ȝedryht); (næs þa) *fricȝendra* (ȝad).

2. Prose words.

bebēodend Past. 405[25]; *sciplīðende; onsittend; ymbsittend* (but not the poetical word, *ymbsittend); weȝfērend; biddend; feohtend; wiðfeohtend* Past. 279[1] (but rather descriptive Bd 21,334); *tēond*; *cwielmend; dælend; ēhtend*[2]; *frēfriend*[2]; *fultumiend*[2]; *fylȝend; æfterfylȝènd; fylstend; ȝīemend* (Ælfc); *heriend; ȝehīerend*[5]; *hlystend; lānend* (or denominational?); *lāstend; maniend* Past. 407[13]; Greg. (approaching denominational sense; Mart. 172[22] denominational); *secȝend; midspecend, onsprecend; sēmend; tæcend; tīenend; oferswīðend; timbriend* (Mart., Bd), *wrēȝend.*

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[1] According to my interpretation of the word (see above, p. 136 f.); accord. to the translation — proved above to be wrong — given by lexicographers, it would have to be classified as characterizing.

[2] Also denominational.

[3] Heo wæron *þam wyrcendum* wel ȝelice and æȝhwylcum ðe him on treowað ('those that made them').

[4] The following dat. marks these words as strictly verbal, not denominational, in the passages where they occur: Crist — — wæs æ *brinȝend* lara *lædend þam þe* - - Cr. 140.

[5] Transl. L. *blasphemum* denoting one blaspheming on a certain occasion; yet it may be denominational all the same (cp. *lāwend*).

Here belong also most of the ptcc. occasionally used as subst.: *dǣdbētende; behrēowsiȝende; forsēonde; ȝeōmriȝende; lyffetende; lēasōleccende; lēoȝende; ondrǣdende; sinȝende; slǣpende; ætstandende; wēpende; andettende; blissiende; clipiende; onlōciende; nellende; andswariȝende.*

II. Denominational end-nouns.

1. In poetry.

a. Kennings (and similar words).

α) for human beings.

berend-cpp.; *līðend*-cpp.[1], e. g. *sǣlīðend* B. 1818[2]; cp. also B. 2806; *lācende*-cpp.; *burhsittende, ymbsittend* (cp. the prose-word *ymbsittend); wīȝend*-cpp., which do not, as was seen, denote warriors fighting on the occasion in question with the weapon denominated by the the first part of the cpp., but simply 'warriors'; *āȝende*-cpp. (as long as they are not concr. nom. virt.); *būend*-cpp.; *fremmende*-cpp., or perhaps rather assertive (many of them are nom. virt.); *wuniȝende*-cpp.; *wyrcend(e)*-cpp.; *lyftflēoȝende laȝuswimmende; moldhrērende; tūdortēonde; scēotend.*

β) of the Deity[3].

metend; (rodera) *rǣdend; scyppend; wealdend; oferwealdend; āȝend; dēmend;* (flōdes) *feriȝend* (verging on assertive sense); *frēfrend; ȝēocend; hǣlend; neriend; settend; þeccend; trymmend.*

Cp. here also *leohtberend* (Lucifer); (þystra) *stihtend* (of the devil).

b. Ordinary designations (of beings).

æftercweðend; hearmcweðend; wiðerfeohtend; sciepþend (or a kenning); *wrecend; ȝōddōnd; wīdfērende; hettend, ealdhettende; oferhelmend;* (rihtes) *wēmend* (of Jude in E.); (fācnes, unrihtes) *wyrcend.*

frumsprecend; wealdend; wīȝend; (deora) *drǣfend; feormiend*[1]*; scipfērend; hæbbend(e); ālǣrende.*

Perhaps some of these words are to be regarded as kennings, too.

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[1] Also assertive.

[2] Used by Beow. of his people, when he announces his intention to return to his native country.

[3] All of these words are not, of course, kennings in the strict sense of the term.

2. In prose.

a. Designations of the deity.

bebēodend (WS. Gosp.); *ȝiefend; healdend; helpend; scyppend; ȝescyppend; wealdend; wrecend; āhniend;* (dīȝla) *oncnāwend; frēfriend; fyrðriend: beȝiemend* (eallra þinȝa); *hælend; edlēaniend* (þæs ēcan lifes); *līesend, ā(on-)līesend; ȝemetiend; (ȝe)miltsiend; neriend; ednīwiend* (mennisces cynnes); *reccend; rihtend; (ȝe)scildend; sellend;* (mōdes) *smēaȝend* (and manna heortan) (approaching assertive sense); *(ȝe)edstaðeliend; stīerend; weriend; wyrcend* (heofenan and eorðan); (sāwla hælo) *tiliend.*

Designations of human beings.

drincende, wīndrincende (cp. poetry); (þone) *wiðfeohtend* (ura ȝoda) Bd.; *ȝiefend; foresteppend; swelȝend* (used of Alexander); (unscæðiȝra) *beswīcend* (of Neptune); *āriend; costiend = costniend* (of the devil); *unrihtdōnd; weldōnd;* (Nero wæs) *ēhtend*[1] (crīstenra manna); *frēfriend*[1]*; fultumiend*[1] (Bd, Ælfc Hom.); *æfterfylȝend*[1] in the sense of 'sequax'; *unrihthæmend; hirwend* (or assertive, cp. above, p. 196), *forhycȝend, oferhoȝiend; onhyrȝend* and *(ȝe)efenlæcend* (or assertive); *lārend* (verging on assertive); *(be)lǣwend; lufiend; mundiend; bepǣcend; raciend, rihtraciend;* (cyrcan) *rēafiend, berēafiend; forscrencend;* (ȝod lufað þone ȝlædan) *syllend; æsyllend; swefniend; tælend;* (moncynnes) *tȳdriend; tyhtend; weriend; beweriend; āwēstend; wierȝend; wissiȝend;* (lēas) *wyrcend; welwyrcend; healdend; rōwend; āȝend; būend; londbūend; bodiend; eardiend; hālsiend; lānend; moniend*[1]*; reccend; rihtend; oferscēawiȝend; timbriend* Greg. 392[2] (or assertive); *wissiend.*

As far as *denominational* ag.-n. are concerned, I have not, in the above classification, distinguished between *characterizing* (descriptive) and *calling-denoting* ag.-n., for the simple reason that there are hardly any *end*-nouns at all to be found for which calling-denoting sense can, with certainty, be established. If we should try to pick out from the material given the words that might possibly be regarded as calling-denoting, we should arrive at the following astonishingly poor result:

a) in poetry

(dēora) *drǣfend; ælǣrend(e)*

[1] Also assertive.

b) in prose

rōwend, londbūend, (ȝafoles) *moniend, timbr(i)end.*

A few other words certainly approach calling-denoting sense, such as *āȝend, wealdend, bodiend, hālsiȝend*, but these (and similar words) rather denote persons appearing in a certain (generally intellectual) capacity than as real exercisers of a calling in the strict sense of the term. The words mentioned above as possibly calling-denoting are also by no means unquestionably so. The two poetical formations will scarcely allow of such an interpretation, since they are only used once and then in poetry; they were doubtless absent from the prose vocabulary — which has *hunta* in the case of the former; as for *ælærende*, there will have been no need for any popular designation of that idea, cp. also what is adduced as the reason of the coining of that word see p. 152. A calling-denoting ag.-n. must, by its very nature, be a more or less universally established designation of the exerciser of the calling in question. In juridical literature, we meet with the words *londhæbbende, londbūend,* and *sēmend*, the first of which (perhaps also the second) is nothing but an adj. used occasionally as a subst., and the last of which does not denote the occupier of a particular post, since different persons could act as *sēmend* — hence it was classified above as assertive.[1] Again, as regards *londbūend*, its one prose-record does, it is true, show it in a calling-denoting sense, viz., 'farmer, husbandman, tiller', but in a rather general and vague way, as opposed to *scipmen*. ȝafoles *moniend* is only used as a translation or rather explanation of the L. theloniarius and so is scarcely more conclusive than a gloss-example (cp. the synonymous *bydel*, see p. 59). *Rōwend* did not express the follower of a calling, either, properly speaking, and the denominational *timbr(i)end*, finally, was not identical with *trēowwyrhta*, N. E. *carpenter*, but meant the (masc. or fem.) person who caused a house to be built, the master-builder; thus we cannot put it altogether on a par with Goth *timrja*, or O. H. G. *zimbarāri* or *zimbarman*, as Klump does[2]; conjectures may be precarious, but I lean to the conclusion that *timbr(i)end* was the only way of expressing the idea in question in O. E., since a **timb(e)rere* would undoubtedly have suggested the 'worker'.

[1] Cp. Liebermann II: 2 under Schiedsgericht.

[2] Handwerkernamen, p. 114.

Among the gloss-instances, on the other hand, we find several words that are calling-denoting, or approach calling-denoting sense, such as *discberend, tācnberend, taporberend, wæterberend, wæxberend; winwyrcend; durehealdend; rihtscrifend* and *dōmsettend; æfter-* and *foresinʒend; ciricend; tīdymbwlātend.* These cases, however, prove nothing at all as to the semological character of the suffix in ordinary O. E., since they are only used as translations of L. words which often express ideas without any correspondence in actual Anglo-Saxon life. As for the great number of *berend*-cpp. of this type, the fact may, moreover, be worthy of attention that they will scarcely have been felt very clearly as *end*-nouns, but merely as *berend*-nouns: *-berend* (like *-bora*) had assumed much the character of a suffix. — Again, gloss instances of this kind are very inconclusive, cp. below, p. 211.

Opposition will perhaps be raised by some scholars to my classification of a certain group of words: I have in mind some of the great number of words expressing the Deity, which I have regarded as denominational with scarcely an exception. Now, in a phrase in which God is spoken of as *scyppend and edniwiend mennisces cynnes*, the two ag.-n. are, of course, not in themselves denominational, since they mean respectively 'one who creates', 'renews' something, the processes taking place on a certain occasion (the objective genitive governed by them is also to be observed). But in my opinion — as may be inferred at once from the terminology used in this work and the points of view emphasized above in my introductory remarks, cp. p. 13 ff. — they do not tell us anything about God any longer; they only designate, Him (from a well-known point of view), they have lost all temporal character 'sind zeitlos geworden'. They are all names of the deity, not common names, it is true, (they are sometimes even recorded only once in the whole bulk of O. E. religious literature) but names they are. Such ag.-n. may, of course, be formed *ad infinitum* to denote the different activities of God towards mankind. — It may also be pointed out in this connection that only a few of the words in question are recorded as other than designations of the deity.

As assertive ag.-n designating God I regarded only *brinʒend* and *lǣdend* (perhaps also *ferinʒend*). In those cases, the names do retain any of the assertive force of the verb.

Summary.

It goes without saying that, in the case of many of the words given, it is debatable whether my interpretation of their semological character is correct or not — is the only possible one or not. Indeed, I should not be astonished if some readers should want to add some words to my group of assertive *end*-nouns at the expense of my denominational ones; scarcely, however, the other way about. Yet insofar, at least, as existing semological types are concerned, I venture to hope that the survey will afford a fairly good view of the actual state of things.

It then seems to me to be fairly clear that the *end*-nouns really have two specific semological functions, viz.,

1. to form ag.-n. of a strongly marked verbal character, denoting the occasional performer of an action (assertive ag.-n.);

2. to form that kind of denominational person-designating ag.-n. which I have called characterizing.

Assertive ag.-n.

The first of these functions is, in fact, quite in the nature of things. Being pr. ptcc. turned into sb., the *end*-nouns are, of all ag.-n., those most closely associated with the corresponding verbs. The concordance prevailing in the sense of *end*-nouns and of the corresponding verbs is also quite a natural outcome of this intimacy : *end*-nouns hardly ever show a specialized sense, when compared to that of the verbs. For the purpose of denoting persons as performing an action on a certain occasion, thus of forming agent-nouns with strongly marked verbal character, these formations must, therefore, have been particularly well suited, and they also were the means preferably resorted to in such cases.

Pr. ptcc. used substantivally with weak adjectival flexion.

Side by side with the substantival *end*-formations with the function of forming assertive ag.-n. we also find the pr. ptc. in their adjectival forms used substantivally, either in their strong form — cp. instances above, p. 197 — or in their weak form. In the preceding portion of my monography on agential *end*-nouns, I have left the latter form of such words altogether out of consideration. Now, substantival words of this kind are always apt to get summarily treated, I think. And in this case, we have unquestionably before us a group of forms that is most worthy of attention as representing a popular mode of agent-formation, and whose claims of being considered as such I strongly advocate. The reason why I have not included these forms in the detailed account given above of substantival *end*-nouns is the same as was

advanced above in my excursus on the flexion of substantival *end*-nouns, viz., the circumstance that they ought, in the first instance, to be viewed in the light of the substantivization of adjectives in general. Again, this type of agent-formation is very simple, as regards the morphological structure of its formations, and from that point of view the type does not call for such detailed treatment as most other modes of agent-formation: such substantival forms can be made, it seems, from any verb. What is interesting about it is, first and foremost, its semological character, and in order to give an idea of that, I may be allowed, in this connection, to dwell upon it a little and to give some instances of its use.

Thus, as was indicated above, we find substantival ptcc. with weak adjectival flexion in a great many cases, with the special semological function of forming *assertive ag.-n.* I give below the most important of the cases of this kind that I have met with:

wrītende: seo hand and þæt ȝewrit *þæs writendan* — L. stilus scribentis Greg. 9^{18}.

Cp. denominational: *wrītere* 'scribe'.

bēodende: *þæs beodendan* stefne ȝefolȝiað — L. iubentis vocem R. Ben. 20^{4}.

Cp. *bydel, boda,* chiefly denominational.

ymbsittende: frunan hi *þa ymbsittendan* — L. a circumsedentibus Bd IV 1497; ealle *þa ymbsittendan* Ap. Tyr. 27^{25}; 26^{19}.

Cp. *ymbsittend,* used in prose in the same sense, but cp. cpp. with *-sæta,* denominational.

ymbstandende: he sceal ȝretan his *ymbstandendan* Eccl. Inst. 406 VII.

inȝanȝende: þætte *þa inȝanȝendan* þær heora cneowunȝa beȝan sceoldon — L. ubi intrantes - - deberent Bd III 1905 B.

hātende: ȝehyrde þa word *þæs hatendan* — L. iubentis Greg. 159^{16}.

rædende: seo rædinȝ - - clænsað þa sawle *þæs rædendan* — L. legentis Alc. Virt. Angl. XI 374,79.

Cp. *rædend* 'interpreter, diviner', and cp. *rædere* 'reader, lecturer' (denominational), e. g. lector is *rædere* seþe ræt on circan Ælfc Past. Ep. 378^{6}.

slǣpende: heo cymð *þam slæpendan* on mode — L. dormienti in animum Poenit. Ecȝb. 200_{13}; þam mode *þæs slæpendan* — L. dormientis mentem Bd I 2110; cp. seo bysmrunȝ *slæpendes* — L. inlusio dormientis ibid. 2139.

Cp. denominational : *slǣpere* : þæra eadiȝra seofon *slæpera* ðrowunȝ L. S. XXIII 1 (De septem dormientibus); nu æfter twam daȝum is ðæra seofon *slapera* ȝemynd Ælfc Hom. II 424[8].

weȝferende : þa cwæð *se weaferenda* to ðam æwfæstan mæn — L. conviator Greg. 128[15]. Immediately before stands : oðer weȝferend 128[9]. Originally used adjectivally, cp. above, p. 102.

æfterfylȝende : þa andweardan ealle and eac *þa æfterfylȝendan* — L. presentes et secuturi omnes Greg. 98[1] C.

Cp. *æfterfylȝend*, the sense of which is less markedly verbal.

heorcniende : þæt hit to hefiȝtyme ne þince *þam heorcniȝendum* Ælfc Hom. II 72_9.

ȝehīerende : þam mode *þæs ȝehyrendan* Greg. 8[16]; *þara ȝehyrendra* heortan — L. corda audientum 33[32].

iernende : onȝan ic yrnan mid þam yrnendum L. S. XXIII B 402.

Cp. *rynel*, probably denominational.

leornende : þone þanc *þara leornendra* — L. sensus legentium Prose-Guþl. 102 prol. 32.

Cp. denominational (almost always) : *leornere*, e. g. Beda se leornere Mart. 32[15], yet once assertive : ðeos spræc stiȝȝe on þæt inȝeðonc *ðæs leorneres* 'in the mind of the learner' Past. 23[17].

secȝende : he andwyrde sona *þam secȝendum* þus Assm. Ælfc 31,178.

Cp. *secȝend* above p. 171.

tintreȝiende : ðæt fram *tintreȝiendan* sume ðraȝe wolde seo wællȝrimness ȝebidan — L. a torquente Greg. 163[10] C.

wæccende : of scondlicum ȝeðohte *ðæs wæccendan* upcymeð seo bysmrunȝ slæpendes — L. vigilantis Bd I 2138.

witeȝiende : *þara witeȝiendra* mod — L. prophetantium mentes Greg. 146[33] H.

In the given cases, two facts are particularly prominent:

1) that the O. E. substantival ptcc. almost unexceptionally — for a few it has not been possible to ascertain their L. equivalents — correspond to pr. ptcc. in substantival use in the Latin original.

2) that very often the pr. ptcc. are used with assertive sense in contrast to another agent-formation from the same verb with denominational sense.

Characterizing ag.-n.

But the *end*-nouns also appeared in a second, specific semological function, viz., as characterizing person-designating ag.-nouns. This second function of theirs is, indeed, even more conspicuous than the first, though, at first sight, it does not seem to be so obvious. First, we here meet with the large group of kennings, a type which is a common Teutonic one, the same use of the suffix occurring in O. S., as well as in O. N. poetical literature. The O. E. agential kennings are, in fact, formed preferably by means of two suffixes, viz., *-end* and *-a(n)* (cp. above, p. 124, and cp. part. II of my work). Then we also have those very numerous *end*-nouns denoting the Deity, whether these formations are regarded as kennings or not. And, finally, there are to be found among these words a very great number of nouns denoting the performer of an action of an abstract kind, the performer of some, chiefly mental, more seldom physical, work, by which he is characterized and named, words of the semological type of *oferhoȝiend*.

Pr. ptcc. used substantivally with weak adjectival flexion.

With this function, too, i. e., when the ag.-noun is used to characterize the person from the point of view of a certain action — I now leave out of consideration the particular use as kennings — we find pr. ptcc. used substantivally with weak adjectival flexion. In this case, it is true, the semological character of the clearly substantival *end*-nouns and the adjectival forms is not always quite identical, the latter rather representing concrete nomina virtutis in a great many cases, yet the semological relationship between the types is obvious, and the parallelism of the two types should certainly be kept in view. The following examples will be illustrative of this use of the pr. ptc.:

[***crēopende, snīcende*** *: ða creopendan* and *ða scnicendan* Past. 155[17]. In this case, not a person-designating word, but the example represents the same type.]

etende, fæstende *: ða fæstendan* ne forsawen *ða etendan* Past. 313[9]; *þa fæstendan* ibid. 313[18]; 317[13, 20, 24] etc.

forȝiefende *:* ac þæm ȝeþyldeȝan - - - and *ðæm forȝiefendan* is to secȝanne ðæt he Past. 220[24].

ȝesēonde, ȝehīerende *: þa ȝeseondan* ne ȝeseoð ne *ða ȝehyrendan* hyrað L. S. 37,[142].

wīdfarende *: ðone widfarendan* and ðone wædlan læd on ðin hus Past. 315[14].

dǣdbētende : abbod careful beon sceal ymbe *ða dædbetendan* R. Ben. 7^{6} (rb.); $50^{8, 17}$ (rb.); ure drihten ȝelæt *ða dædbetendan* æfter soðre dædbote to ðære uplican Hierusalem Ælfc Hom. II 68_{12}; *ðæs dædbetendan* — L. poenitentis Alc. Virt. 386,368.

efsiende : se *efsiȝenda* efsode his heafod Past. 141^{3}.

ȝītsiende : se hneawa and *se ȝitsienda* Past. 149^{18}; eala *þu ȝitsiȝendā* and ðu weleȝa Blickl. Hom. 51^{1}.

(ā)ȝyltende : wið *ða ȝyltendan* Past. 123^{23}; ðæt mod *ðæs aȝyltendan* 165^{19}.

forhæbbende : *ða forhæbbendan* (in opposition to *ða wifȝalan*) Past. 317^{24}.

wōhhǣmende : ne *ða wohhæmendan* - - - ne ða ðiofas - - - ȝodes rice ne ȝesittað Past. 401^{27}. — Cp. *unrihthæmend* p. 166.

behrēowsiende : he symle ȝeare is *ða hreowsiȝendan* to underfonne L. S. XXIII, B 468.

oferhoȝiende : ða ȝymeleasan and *ða oferhoȝiendan* he sceal - - - ðrēaȝan — L. contempnentes R. Ben. 13^{15}. — Cp. above *oferhoȝiend*, p. 145.

hynȝriende : brec *ðam hynȝriendum* ðinne hlaf Past. 315^{14}; ȝod ȝefylð *ða hinȝriendan* mid his ȝodum Ælfc Hom. I 202_{1}.

irsiende : hwæthwuȝu bið betweoh *ðæm irsiendan* and ðæm unȝeðyldiȝan Past. 293^{15} — L. iracundi; *ða iersiȝendan* ibid. 293^{17}; cp., as an adj., *ða irsiendan* men 295^{9}.

scyldiȝende : wirð *ða scyldȝiendan* swuȝode Past. 151^{23}.

synȝiende : he sceal eac mid ȝesceade *ða synȝiendan* scrifan Canons Ælfc. 354^{7}.

twīȝniende : he wolde *ða twynigendan* ȝetrymman Ælfc Hom. I 234_{9}.

hæbbende, wǣdliende : het us ȝewelȝian *ða hæbbendan*, ac ðæt we *ða wædliȝendan* ȝefultumedon Ælfc Hom. II $106_{17, 16}$.

wierȝende : ne ða ðiofas, ne ða druncenwillan, ne *ða wierȝendan* ȝodes rice ne ȝesittað Past. 401^{29}; cp. Ælfc Hom. II 34_{10}, see above p. 174; *þa werȝendan* ne sceal mon na onȝeanwerian, ac ma bletsian — L. maledicentes R. Ben. 17^{13}.

welwillende : *ða welwillendan* Past. 15^{16}, 175^{20} etc.

unrihtwillende . *ðam unrihtwillendum* Past. 89^{22}.

yfelwyrcende : he hatað *ða yfelwyrcendan* and ða unrihtwisan L. S. I 48; XXV 285.

As was said above, the majority of these cases will have to be regarded as representing concrete nom. virtutis — note, too,

their co-ordination with clear adjs. in a great many cases. They have passed from verbs into adjectives, and then from adjs. into substantives, yet with retained adjectival flexion, just like ordinary adjectives. The semological relationship, however, between these forms and the characterizing *end*-subst. (see above, p. 198) is obvious, as appears also from the fact that, in not a few cases, we find both a clear subst. and an adjectival form side by side, cp. *ða wōhhæmendan* and *unrihthæmend*, *ða oferhoȝiendan* and *oferhoȝiend*, *ða wierȝendan* and *wierȝend*. The substantival words in question, too, stand on the border of concrete nom. virtutis (cp. Introduction, p. 16). It seems, however, as if the *end*-substantives are really meant to have a more agential character, and the corresponding adjectival forms to give a more adjectival meaning. Take, for instance, the forms *wierȝend* and *se wierȝenda*. In the passage just quoted — ne ða ðiofas, ne ða druncenwillan, ne *ða wierȝendan* ȝodes rice ne ȝesittað Past. 401[29] — the adj. *drunkenwillan* guides the author and leads him to use the adjectival form; in the instance quoted above, p. 90, — ne ȝytseras, ne drinceras - - - ne *wyrȝendras*, þara muð bið symle mid ȝeættrode wyriȝunȝe afylled L. S. XVII 42 — the preceding substantival words lead Ælfric to use a substantival form, the associations of which rather put it in the class of nom. ag. Yet I do not think that the semological difference between the two forms is so prominent as the morphological one: in both cases, the idea implied is something between the performer of an action and the bearer of a quality, though in one case with greater tendency towards concrete nom. virtutis and in the other towards nom. ag. — on account of the different associations combined with the two types. Cp. also *se ȝītsiȝenda* and *ȝītsere*, *drinceras* and *ða druncenwillan*, the semological difference between which pairs will certainly not have been very prominent. Or cp. *ða oferhoȝiendan*, in the example given just above, (ða ȝymeleasan and *ða oferhoȝiendan* R. Ben. 13[15]) with *oferhoȝiend* in R. Ben. 48[6] (: his yldrena ȝeboda *oferhoȝiend* — L. contemptor), or with *forhycȝend* in, e. g., Bd I 334 (*ðone forhycȝend* ura ȝoda — L. sacrilegum.) In these cases, the choice of forms is more a matter of construction than of sense, though, certainly, a slight difference of sense is called into existence at the same time.

The pr. ptc. used substantivally with weak adjectival flexion is thus met with in two specific semological functions, viz., as

forming assertive ag.-n. — especially in Ælfric and in Greg. and Bd. — in which case we hardly find it, except to render a L. pr. ptc. used in that way, and as forming concrete nom. virtutis or sometimes characterizing ag.-nouns — a function which is extremely frequent in Ælfred's translations af Cura Past. and in Ælfric's works.

Summary.

The preceding analysis of the semological character of O. E. participial substantives has thus disclosed a close relationship between the substantival *end*-nouns, on the one hand, and the adjectival and verbal *ende*-forms, on the other. An obvious parallelism has, in fact, allowed itself to be established between the two principal semological functions of the *end*-subst. and the verbal and adjectival pr. ptcc. For such a parallelism is to be found between,

1) the assertive *end*-subst. and the assertive *ende*-ptcc. in substantival use, and

2) the characterizing *end*-subst. — of the type of *oferhoziend*, and the characterizing *ende*-ptcc. — of the type of *oferhozienda* — in substantival use.

If, in case 1), the agential form of a verb altogether lacks appellative force (on account of the sense of the verb), the substantival use of *ende*-ptcc. is generally met with (not an *end*-noun).

From the points of view now indicated, the intrinsic nature of *end*-nouns seems very clear. Their two principal semological functions appear to be just what might have been expected *a priori* and what is in agreement with the dual character of pr. ptcc., viz., that of verb and adj. The *end*-nouns are thus very intimately associated with the verbs to which they belong, a fact which is also quite in the nature of things, since O. E. *end*-nouns are not, with some very few exceptions, old consonant stems, but are simply pr. ptcc. substantivized.

c) Stylistic character of *end*-nouns.

In my classification of the material of O. E. ag.-n., the stylistic character of the formations in question was made a guiding factor, as being one of a most conspicuous nature and of paramount importance. There are a very great number of such words that only occur in poetry, whereas others belong exclusively to prose, and a third group is restricted to use in glosses.

Poetical end-nouns.

The poetical *end*-nouns were found to form a class by themselves, both from a semological and a morphological point of view. It may suffice here to refer to my detailed account of that matter in the excursus above, p. 103 ff. (as regards semology, cp. also above p. 204), and I need here add only a few words. We have found whole groups of compounded *end*-nouns —chiefly kennings, but also a few others — of very frequent occurrence in poetry, but they are almost entirely lacking in prose or are represented there only by some very few words. And then it is noteworthy that, if a certain cp.-group is represented in poetry by several words, it is often another word, another cp,, that occurs in prose, or it is one of the ordinary cpp., though in a different and more literal sense. The former alternative was exemplified in the prose-word *scip-līðende,* which occurs side by side with six other *līðend*-cpp., all of which are poetical. Here belongs also the consideraton of the phenomenon, by no means rare, that, by the side of several cpp. forming a group, the corresponding simplex occurs as a prose-word, with or without parallel poetical use (see material above). Again, the latter alternative was found exemplified in *ymbsittend* and *londbūend,* where the sense of the words in the prose records is different from that in the poetical records. We can also observe that, very often, the first member of a prose-cp. is a preposition, as was, e. g., the case with *on-, ymbsittend, for-, oferhoȝiend,* whereas the usual peculiarity in the case of poetical *end*-cpp. was that the first member was a noun. In the prose-instances here referred to, it is not, properly speaking, the agent-noun that is compounded, but the primitive word itself. As regards the gloss-instances belonging to cpp.-groups, cp. below.

In this connection, I may perhaps be allowed to say a few words on a question that has been the subject of some discussion recently. G. Binz,[1] in support of his theory that the second part of the "Christ" is a translation, advances, among other things, the view that "die Zusammensetzungen mit einem Part. Präs. im zweiten Teil, wie *firenfremmend,*[2] *scyldwreccende unscomiende womwyrcende* as. Sprachgebrauch geläufiger sind als dem ae." To this opinion objections, however, were raised by G. H. Ge-

[1] "Untersuchungen zum ae. sogenannten Christ" p. 181 ff. in Festschrift zur 49. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Basel, 1907.

[2] The form as given by Binz, of course.

GEROULD,[1] as well as by BINZ's reviewer, SCHÜCKING.[2] On this point GEROULD writes, p. 4: "even though a statistical enumeration should show a proportionately greater number in O. S., the fact would remain that they are of very common occurrence in O. E. and must be regarded as native English." He also supports his impression on this point by giving a list of sixteen such words, picked out from the first four letters of the alphabet. As far as cpp. *subst.* in *-end* are concerned[3], the full list has been given above and has confirmed the view held by SCHÜCKING and GEROULD in the most definite way. And I even go so far as to find it most doubtful whether O. S. can be shown to have more such formations than O. E., and whether it is not rather the other way about; at least a glance at a glossary of Heliand, the O. S. piece of literature where such formations should be expected to be most numerous, rather supports such a view. And as regards *substantival* words of this kind, I think such a state of things is even impossible, since there are, in fact, so few subst. in *-and* in O. S.

The *end*-nouns to be found in poetry are, however, not exclusively compound words, though the number of simple *end*-nouns — simple *end*-nouns belonging to cp.-groups excepted — is, indeed, astonishingly small. Yet this phenomenon will scarcely be due to any aversion on the part of O. E. poetical style to simple substantival *end*-formations. On the contrary, there are, in fact, a few cases where the *end*-suffix is just the poetical means for expressing the agent, whereas prose uses another type.[4] In my opinion, the smaller bulk and the character of O. E. poetical literature, as compared with that of prose, will afford explanation enough. With the exception of kennings, ag.-n. were not so often needed in poetry as in prose, and I have the impression that what has been found to hold true for simple *end*-nouns will also bear application to other agent-groups, though I cannot here anticipate my investigations as to the other agent-forming suffixes.

The majority of the existing poetical *end*-nouns are, in fact, so intimately associated with the specifically poetical, and more particularly *epic*, *style* that there might, indeed, be reason for

[1] Studies in the Christ, ESt. 41.

[2] Arch 120,209 ff.

[3] For app. ptcc. see CALLAWAY: the number of cpp. ptcc. in appositive use will be found to be very great.

[4] See part II of my work.

giving them a name of their own from that very point of view; for instance "epic or stylistic nom. ag.," a term thus signifying a group which would not altogether coincide with the group of kennings, though it would nearly. For it is in the epic poems of the 8th century that we find most of the words in question, though the stylistic resources of these poems are also imitated in the later poems, cp. below p. 218. In the Riddles, we meet the same style and the same kind of *end*-nouns. But in the gnomic and purely lyric portions of O. E. poetry, *end*-nouns are not only absolutely but also proportionately rarer, and those that occur are not so exclusively kennings, but oftener ordinary ag.-n., though generally not prose-words. In Exet., Cott., Fæ., Ruine and Mod., for instance, poems comprising about 500 lines together, we meet — except for the common *waldend, scyppend, nerȝend*, and *hælend* — only three *end*-nouns, viz. *boldāȝende, dēmend, bētend,* with one record each, and the stylistically similar words *rædhycȝende* and *meðelhēȝende;* and in Zaub., Runenl., Deor, Eaðwacer, Klage, Bo., Wald., Jü. Ger., Seel., Reiml., *end*-nouns — except for the cited designations of God — are entirely lacking.[1] Note also something which is interesting from another point of view, viz., that the same thing is true for the lengthy poem Gen. B. An epic poem in 627 verses would certainly not lack all *end*-nouns except *waldend* (18×) and *neriend* (once), if it were originally O. E., since the employment of these nouns proves to be such an essential characteristic of O. E. epic style.

end-*nouns in prose.*

If now we turn to the numerous *end*-nouns belonging to prose, we must first recall their semological character: the bulk of them were found to consist of nouns denoting the performer of an abstract activity, the performer of some chiefly mental work (cp. above, p. 204). They did not express popular ideas; they expressed ideas that were not originally English, but Latin (Christian), brought to the Anglo-Saxons with Christianity. They were created to form O. E. translations of L. words. This character of theirs will also be found to be in complete agreement with their chronological appearance (cp. d., where further evidence will be given) and their distribution through the different texts. In the laws and

[1] What has been said here holds good not only for *end*-nouns, but for "stylistic ag.-n." in general, thus for the majority of poetical ag.-n, formed by means of O. E. *-end* or Teut. *-an*.

charters, certainly, we find some few words, such as *āȝend londbūend, londhæbbende, tēond, sēmend, æfterfylȝend, wealdend,* which are rather usual, especially *āȝend, tēond,* and *sēmend,* but in the Ags. Chron. we find only one single ag.-n in *-end,* viz., *būend,* used once. In the original prose literature of the Anglo-Saxons the *end*-nouns must be regarded as being, on the whole, very rare. The majority of them occur in Ælfred (though not in his laws), Ælfric, Wulfstan, and in the Bible, and the Homiletic literature of the 11th century.

Thus the semological and chronological character alike of these words justifies us in laying it down as a rule that O. E. *end*-nouns were never everyday words living on the lips of the people in colloquial speech — some law terms and some very few others perhaps excepted — but were exclusively literary words.

end-*nouns in glosses.*

The very frequent occurrence of *end*-nouns in glosses is, as a matter of course, nothing to disprove their entirely literary character. The more or less learned glossators apprehended the *end*-nouns to be the specific O. E. means for the formation of (semologically colourless) agent-nouns from the corresponding verbs, the *end*-nouns being the ag.-n. most intimately associated with the verb. So, if there was not already another O. E. agent-formation in existence for a certain notion, the *end*-formation was the one that most naturally suggested itself for the translation of a L. ag.-n. Note also, for instance, how consistently Ælfric, when exemplifying L. nom. ag., in his grammatical work, renders them in O. E. by *end*-nouns (see above, *lufiend* p. 168, *hatiend* p. 184, and cp. *dælnimend* and *speliend* as grammatical terms). And besides we must not always, in glosses, regard the gloss as the actually existing Anglo-Saxon equivalent of the L. word, but only as an attempt at explaining it. Note, for instance, how an *end*-noun is used to *explain* the L. word, whereupon the actual O. E. designation for the same thing is also given, in L. S. 18,295: cræt and his *wissiȝend* þæt is *crætwisa.* There is no doubt that a very great number of the gloss-instances on record will have to be regarded in this light.

d) Productivity of the suffix.

Before trying to ascertain the productivity of the sufflx in O. E., it will prove necessary for us to cast a glance over the cor-

responding formations in the other Teutonic languages, as far as this is possible without first-hand investigation.

In ***Old Frisian***, the category seems to be very small, to judge from HEUSER's glossary at least, where, except for *frį̄ond* and *fīand*, only two *end*-nouns, viz., *werand* 'Gewährsmann' and *wīgand* 'warrior', are to be found. It may have been otherwise in earlier times, of course, though in the oldest *historical* period of the language, the suffix was evidently not productive, nay, was almost altogether extinct.

The scarcity of records makes it also difficult to draw definite conclusions as to the actual state of things in ***Old Saxon***, but certainly participial subst. cannot be said to have been frequent. HUCKO, p. 90, gives the following: *fīond, friund, hatand (hettend), hēliand, lēriand, -līðand (lagu-, sēo-, wāg-), neriand,* and *waldand,* and a few others were mentioned above, in connection with the corresponding O. E. *end*-sb., such as *-berand (helm-, wāpan-), rādand, wīgand,* and *erðbūandi.* All the words mentioned are well known from O. E.

Old High German is the language in which the participial subst. are rarest, which is the more noteworthy when the fairly large bulk of the literature is taken into consideration. DIEMER[1] only gives *fiant, friunt, heilant, helfant, skepfant, waltant,* and *wīgant* as real sb., besides which BRAUNE[2] mentions *haltand* and *lantpūant* and, with reserve, **sceozzant* (*sceotantero* gpl), all of which are known to us in exact equivalents from the O. E. language. With weak adjectival flexion the ptc. is often used substantivally, with the force of an ag.-n., cp. DIEMER, p. 75. Cp. also SÜTTFERLIN, p. 27 f.

As regards the ***Old Scandinavian*** languages, FALK's treatment of this group of nom. ag.[3] is too summary by far to enable the reader to form an idea as to the occurrence and especially as to the character of these words in O. N. What he tells us there is chiefly that, "Nom. ag. dieser Art kommen in der altnord. Poesie in grosser Menge vor und unterscheiden sich durch nichts von den vorher behandelten Gruppen", and that "die anord. Prosa besitzt nur wenige echte Nom. ag. dieser Klasse, besonders Gesetzausdrücke wie *vegandi, vísendr, seljandi, selendr* ok *kaupendr*".

[1] Substantivierung des Adjektivs im Althochdeutschen, p. 13.
[2] Ahd. Gr., § 236, anm. 1.
[3] PBB 14, pp. 41—43.

Falk's bald statement as to the great frequency in O. N. poetry of these agent-nouns may be compared with that of Sütterlin and the material adduced by him somewhat earlier, and also with the material produced by Jónsson[1] (often quoted above) some ten years later, and it will thus be corroborated. A glance at the collections of material referred to also makes it probable — a definite statement is not possible, since neither Sütterlin nor Jónsson give their examples with context — that the character of the Old Scand. ag.-n. in *-endr* was much the same as that of the O. E. *end*-nouns; many of the words are, in fact, common to both languages.

In **Gothic**, finally, we find the following nom. ag. in *-ands*:
allwaldands — Gr. *παντοκράτως*;
gardawaldands — *οἰκο-δεσπότης*;
bisitands, pl. 'neighbours' — *οἱ περίοικοι*;
fijands — *ἐχθρός*;
frijōnds, *frijōndi* — *φίλος*, *φίλη*;
fraujinōnds — *δυσπότης*;
daupjands — *βαπτιστής*;
gibands — *δότης*;
merjands 'Verkündiger, Prediger' — *κήρυξ*;
nasjands 'Saviour' — *σωτήρ*;
fraweitands 'avenger' — *ἔκδικος*;
talzjands 'Lehrer' — *ἐπιστάτης*; cp. *talzjan* 'lehren' — *παιδεύειν*, *νουθετεῖν*;
midumōnds 'Mittler' — *μεσίτης*;
hausjands — *ἀκούων* (allai þai hausjandans is L. 2,47).[2]

The given materal shows abundantly that participial ag.-n. formed a productive and not unusual category in Gothic. Such words as *daupjands*, *nasjands*, etc. reveal themselves as new-formations by their sense, and such a word as *fraujinōnds*, likewise, by its form, the word being a derivative from the secondary verb *fraujinōn*. And we can observe also that it is not Greek ptcc. in

[1] Det norsk-islandske skjaldesprog. p. 67 f.

[2] In this last case, however, the substantival character of *hausjands* is not quite certain, since the verb *hausjan* can also govern the gen. As a rule, certainly, *hausjan* only governs the "Gen. der Sache" and not the "Gen. der Person" (cp. Streitberg, Die got. Bibel, glossary, sub *hausjan*), but the construction of the pr. ptc. is, in this case, freer than that of the other forms.

substantival use that are rendered by Goth. substantival ptcc., but real Greek sb. The category evidently existed in Goth. (Teutonic), and by no means as a result of influence from the classical languages.

Participial nom. ag. thus occur in all Teut. languages, though in varying extent; as regards the frequency and productivity of the type, the different languages allow of arrangement in the following order, beginning with the language where the formations are rarest: OHG., OS., Goth., O. N., and O. E. It is a curious coincidence that, of the West Teutonic branch of the Teutonic family of languages, only one should have made use of and developed this type of word-formation to any great degree, when the type is comparatively so popular in the other, less nearly related, Teut. languages.

This circumstance leads us to the following explanation of the existing *end*-formations in O. E., an explanation which is also supported by the semological character and the chronological occurrence of the words. There evidently exist in O. E. two strata of *end*-nouns : one old group, inherited from prim. Teutonic times, and one young group of new-formations, made at different times during the Anglo-Saxon period. It will then be our duty to distinguish between the two groups, and for that reason we shall first have to ascertain which words were common to several Teut. languages.

In the tabular view below, I therefore give a survey of those participial ag.-n. that are found in several (or all) Teutonic languages. (See opposite page.)

Now, it is true that all the words comprised in the given tabular view are not, *eo ipso*, to be regarded as inherited from the common primitive Teut. language and as forming the original stock of participal agent-nouns; nor need all other words of this type be regarded, *eo ipso*, as new-formations in the different languages, though it cannot, in general, be proved conclusively for any of them that they are older than their first record in the language in question. But, in view of the scarcity of participial agent-nouns in the West Teutonic languages of the continent, as well as of the fact that all participial ag.-n. that do exist in these languages occur also in other Teut. languages, one is really tempted to regard the suffix as but slightly productive, if productive at

End-nouns common to several Teutonic languages.

Gothic	O. N.	O. H. G.	O. S.	O. Frs.	O. E.
fijands	fjande	fīant	fīund	fīand	fēond
frijōnds	frænde	friunt	friund	friōnd	frēond
-waldands	-valdandi	waldand	waldand		wealdend
	búandi	-pūant	-būandi		būend (-būend)
		wīgant	wīgand	wīgand	wīȝend
gibands	gefendr				ȝiefend
	haldendr	(haltant)[1]			healdend
	hjalpendr	helfant			helpend
nasjands			neriand		neriend
		heilant	hēliand		hælend
	hatendr		hatand		hettend
	liðendr		-līðand		līðend (līdend)
	-berendr		-berand		-berend
	ráðendr		rādand		rædend
	verjendr			werand	weriend[2]
bisitands					ymbsittend
talzjands[3]	tælendr				tælend
		skepfant			scieppend
			lēriand[4]		ælærend
	eigendr				āȝend
	festendr				endefæstend
	fliúgendr				lyftflēoȝende
	-hyggjendr				-hycȝende
	kviðjendr				cweðend
	metendr				metend
	segjendr				secȝend
	yrkjendr				wyrcend
	dómendr				dēmend[5]

[1] Only given as weak adj. in substantival use by Diemer, p. 75.

[2] Cp. French *garant*, Med. L. *guarandus*.

[3] Not identical with, only related to, the O. N. and O. E. word (cp. Feist, *talzjan*).

[4] Cp., as regards sense, Goth. *merjands* and *talzjands*.

[5] Identical words in the case of which the meanings are quite different in the different languages in question and of such a nature as to indicate independent formation, such as O. E. *sellend* 'giver', O. N. *selendr* 'seller', are not counted.

all, in O. H. G. and O. S., and to consider the formations met with there as inherited from the common mother-tongue.[1]

At any rate, it is evident that such O. E. words as *fēond*, *frēond*, *wealdend*, *wīȝend*[2], *būend*, and *hettend*[3] are of primitive Teut. origin, certainly also *līðend*, *-berend* (and *-hycȝende*), being solely or chiefly used as last elements of cpp. in all the different dialects alike in which they occur; perhaps also *rædend* and *ȝiefend* and a few others. Then the suffix seems also to have been used, of old, as a means of forming person-designating ag.-n. in juridical language, since this function is met with both in O. N. and the earliest O. E., though only in one case, viz., O. E. *āȝend*, O. N. *eigandi* in the same word.[4]

With such words as those mentioned as starting-points, the O. E. and O. N. languages have begun to make use of the suffix anew, though — at least as far as O. E. is concerned — this newly acquired productivity of the suffix was only a literary one (cp. above p. 211).

We also immediately find that the different semological types represented by O. E. *end*-nouns easily permit of being traced back to the stock of words inherited from the common Teutonic period.

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[1] A unique position is occupied by those few words denoting the Deity occurring in O. S. and (or) O. H. G., viz., *heilant (heliand)*, *neriand*, and *scepfant*, which, for natural reasons, cannot go back to prim. Teut. If the suffix, as seems indeed to be the case, was not productive in these languages, these words are there rather difficult to account for. Of course, it is possible that *waltant (waldand)* might give rise to *scepfant*, etc., without the suffix attaining further productivity, especially since there existed substantival participial forms with adjectival flexion, e. g., *unsêr heilanto Christ*. Weissenbg. Cat. 84; *unsêr druhtin nerrendeo Christ*, Is. 28,12 (a subst. **neriant* never existed in O. H. G.); *euuiges leohtes sceffento* Murb. H. 4,1 (all quotations taken from Diemer, p. 75 ff.). But is also most tempting to regard these words as "translation-loans" from O. E., the O. E. words being brought to Germany by the Anglo-Saxon missionaries. What is more natural than that the language of the missionaries should influence that of the converted on such principal points of the Christian terminology? The missionaries can scarcely have helped transforming such words as *hælend*, *neriend*, and *scyppend* to suit the foreign tongue.

[2] That *wīȝend* has no equivalent in O. N. is only natural, since also the corresponding verb is extinct there. As regards Goth., the verb *weihan* 'to fight' is rather rare, whereas *weihan* 'weihen' is fairly common: a subst. **weihands* would have been ambiguous.

[3] Note its form in O. E.; cp. p. 152.

[4] See above, p. 146.

Thus, for instance, the group of kennings doubtless starts from such words as (-)*wīȝend, līðend*, and *-berend*, originally not kennings but passing by degrees into such, and attracting other words. The large group of designations for the Deity is certainly to be traced back to *wealdend*, which word was originally used only of earthly rulers, but then, under the influence of L. *dominus*, came also to be used of the heavenly king and then brought in its train the whole series of similar formations from *scyppend, hælend*, etc., to (flōdes) *feriend* (of God) and (þȳstra) *stihtend* (of the devil).

Further, it may be of interest to ascertain how these words — the vast majority of which have just been shown to have been created in O. E. times, on the model of some few *end*-formations inherited from prim. Teut. —, distribute themselves over the different periods of O. E., or rather to ascertain whether the productivity of the type is to be referred to a particular period of O. E. or to the whole period. Some hints on this point were given above, p. 210 f.; the question deserves to be investigated a little more closely.

As regards poetical *end*-nouns, — the distinction between poetry and prose is quite necessary here, too — I deem it sufficient to unite all the words belonging to the pre-Ælfredian period into one chronological group. We find, then, the following *end*-nouns belonging to

Early O. E. Poetry:

berend-cpp.; *lācende*-cpp.; *līðend*-cpp.; *rādend* with cpp.; *sittende*-cpp.; *wīȝend*-cpp.; *wealdend; āȝende*-cpp.; *būend*-cpp. *(: ān ~, ceaster ~, eorð ~, feor ~, fold ~, ȝrund ~, hēr ~, lond ~, nēah ~, sund ~, þēod ~); fērend* with cpp.; *fremmende*-cpp. *(æ ~, firen ~, ȝūð ~, heaðo ~, mān ~, riht ~, til ~); hæbbende* with cpp.; *hettend; hycȝende*-cpp. *(bealo ~, ȝlēaw ~, nīð ~, rād ~, wiðer ~) dryhtwunigende; scyld-, symwyrcend; æftercweðend; ealodrincende; wiðerfeohtend; ȝōddōnd; æfyllende; meðelhēȝende; moldhrērende; ælǽrend; (tūdortēonde); scēotend; scieððend; bētend; brinȝend; dēmend; drǽfend; feormend; ȝēocend; myndȝiend; neriend; settend; wēmend; metend; rīdend; lādend* 'bringer'; *stihtend; leohtberend;* [*weȝfērend* (in prose early, in poetry not until Par Ps.)]; *drincende*; *āȝend; būend; healdend; helpend;* [*dælnimend* (in prose early, in poetry not until Par. Ps.)]; *rōwend; scieppend; wrecend; ēhtend; frēfriend; hælend; reccend; rihtend; ȝescieldend; sellend; stīerend; weriend.*

The words enumerated form, indeed, the majority of the poetical *end*-nouns in O. E. If we turn to the late O. E. poems, we find there — I now give each poem separately — the following *end*-nouns occurring for the first time in the poem in question:

Metres

woruldbūend; wōhfremmende; woruldwunigende.

Past.

īegbūend.

Par. Ps.

nāhtfremmende; gramhycgende; wyrcend, firenwyrcende; hearmcweðend; frumsprecend; oferhylmend; lǣdend 'excuser'; *þeccend; trymmend; eardiend;* [*ālīesend*, which is, however, common in prose (Ps. gl.) even earlier]; *wiergend; [mōdblissiende; feogende; gnornende].*

Sal.

lyftflēogende; laguswimmende; feriend; wincende; spyriend.

Thus the newly-coined *end*-nouns in late O. E. are rather scarce, if Par. Ps. is excepted. In Metr. and Past. we recognize some old cp.-groups that are new-formations only as far as their first member is concerned: the *end*-noun (last element of the cp.) existed earlier. It is also noteworthy that the gifted author of Judith, who is very fond of participial nouns — 14 words with 22 records, besides *neriend*, *scyppend*, and *wealdend*, which occur together 6 times —, has not a single new-formation among these. "Der Autor war im Phrasen-schatz der altanglischen Poesie offenbar wohl bewandert"[1]; he has made correct and frequent use of the old stock of kennings in *-end*, but he has created no new ones. Yet it must not be inferred, from this circumstance, that new creations of *end*-nouns have entirely ceased in O. E., as far as poetry is concerned. In Sal. we find, in fact, some new-formations, even words of an entirely poetical character, viz., *lyftflēogende* and *laguswimmende*, though in the case of these two words they were coined directly on the model of the old *end*-kenning immediately preceding *(grundbūende)*. This much can at least evidently be settled, that no new *cp.-groups* of the nature of kennings were created subsequently to the period of the great epics, except in cases where special induction was active;

[1] Brandl, Engl. Litt., p. 1091.

further that the *end*-nouns met with for the first time in late O. E. poetry, chiefly in Par. Ps., approach more closely to the prose-words in *-end*, i. e., they are either ptcc. that are only occasionally used as subst. (*fēoȝende, ȝnornende* etc.), or they are designations of the Deity (*þeccend, trymmend*, flōdes *feriend*), or they denote the performer of an action of an abstract nature (*hearmcweðend, frumsprecend, oferhelmend, lædend, spyriend*), seldom an action rather of a physical kind (*byrȝend*). The difference between the *end*-nouns of poetry and those of prose, which is very conspicuous in early English, thus declines towards the end of the period — a natural consequence of the decay of the markedly epic style.

It might have been useful to have given tabular views exhibiting the occurrence of each particular word in the different texts (poetry, prose, and glosses). As regards the poetical *end*-nouns, however, the above summary, along with the survey given above in my excursus, will go a long way towards affording such a schematic view. Again, to gloss-instances such weight can scarcely be attached in this case as to justify the troublesome work of compiling such tables. As regards the prose-records, on the other hand, I have deemed it of utility to have such a complete and easily surveyable tabular view of their occurrence, and so I have compiled the one given below, p. 220 ff., where I give also the total number of records in poetry and glosses, for those prose-words for which such records exist.

Tables, see next page.

If we divide the O. E. prose literature into 1) *Pre-Ælfredian*, 2) *Ælfredian*, 3) *9th and 10th centuries*, 4) *Ælfrician* (Ælfric and Wulfstan), and 5) *Post-Ælfrician*, and if we investigate the distribution of the first records of each *end*-noun among those different chronological groupings, we thus arrive at the following results:

1. Pre-Ælfredian.

āȝend, būend, londhæbbende, tēond, æfterfylȝend, belāwend, ālīesend, lufiend, moniend, sēmend, timbrend.

2. Ælfredian.

onsittend, ymbsittend (cp. poetry), *wealdend* (cp. poetry), *weȝfērend, hettend* (cp. poetry), *forhycȝend, cfenwyrcend, bebēodend, biddend, wiðfeohtend, ȝiefend, helpend* (cp. poetry), *dælnimend* (cp.

Tabular View of records

	Abt., Hl., Wi., Ine.	BCS = KCD a. 900	Ags. Chro. a. 900	Mart.	Greg., Boeth., Sol., Past., Or., Bt.	Reg. Ben.	Cons. Mon.	As, Eg., Alt.	BCS = KCD 900—1100.	Blas	Blickl. Hom.
lēohtberend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
drincende	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
wīndrincende	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
onsittend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
ymbsittend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
wealdend	—	—	—	—	12	—	—	3	4	1	3
āȝend	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
būend	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
eorðbūende	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
londbūend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
weȝfērend	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
londhæbbende	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
hettend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
forhycȝend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
oferhoȝiend	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
lǣrend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
wyrcend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
efenwyrcend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
welwyrcend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
bebēodend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
biddend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
oncnāwend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
feohtend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
wiðfeohtend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
ȝiefend	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
helpend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
dǣlnimend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
rōwend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
onspecend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
midspecend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
forestæppend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
swelȝend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
beswīcend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
tēond	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	1	—
	9	—	1	—	36	3	—	8	5	2	7

of prose-words in -end.

Ælfric	WS. Gosp.	Wulfstan	Progn.	Eccl. Inst., Polity, Ecgbert	Cnut	Homilies 1000—1100	Ru[1].	Ap. Tyr.	Sermo Mariæ	Total prose	Total poetry	Total glosses.
3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	—
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	5	—
36	—	9	1	2	—	6	—	—	—	77	common	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	15	1
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	15
3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	37	—
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	8	11
4	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	10	1	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	12	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	3	7
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	3
—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	5	8	5
16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	1	2
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	4
—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	10	—	—
68	8	13	1	4	3	11	1	2	—	182	—	—

	Abt., Hl., Wi., Ine.	BCS = KCD a. 900	Ags. Chro. a. 900	Mart.	Greg. Boeth., Sol., Past., Or., Bd.	Reg. Ben.	Cons. Mon.	As., Eg., Atr.	BCS = KCD 900–1100	Blas	Blickl. Hom.
	9	—	1	—	36	3	—	8	5	2	7
wrecend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
āhniend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
āriend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
bodiend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
costiend	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	3
costniend	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—
cwielmend	—	—		—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
dælend	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—
unrihtdōnd	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
ēhtend	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
eardiend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
in-, oneardiend			—	—	1	—		—	—	—	—
frēfr(i)end	—		—	—	1	—			—	—	3
fultumiend			—	—	7	—	—		—	—	—
fylȝend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
æfterfylȝend	—	6	—	1	22	—	1	—	2	—	—
fylstend	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
fyrðriend	—		—				—	—	1	—	—
ȝīemend	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
beȝīemend	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
unrihthæmend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
hālsiend	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
heriend	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ȝehīerend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
hierwend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
hlystend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
tōhlystend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
onhyrȝend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ȝe)efenlǣcend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
lænend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
lǣstend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
lǣwend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
belǣwend	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
edlēaniend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
līesend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	9	7	1	1	84	3	3	8	9	2	15

Ælfric	WS. Gosp.	Wulfstan	Progn	Ecc. Inst., Polity, Fegbert	Cnut	Homilies 1000–1100	Rul.	Ap. Tyr.	Sermo Mariæ	Total prose	Total poetry	Total glosses.
68	8	13	1	4	3	11	1	2	—	182	—	—
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	7
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	9	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	5
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
3	3	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	13	3	—
1	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	11	—	26
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	5
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	4
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	3
84	14	17	2	5	3	17	1	2	—	287	—	—

	Abt., Hl., Wi., Ine.	BCS = KCD a. 900	Ags. Chro. a. 900	Mart.	Greg., Boeth., Sol., Past., Or., Bd.	Reg. Ben.	Cons. Mon.	As., Eg., Atr.	BCS = KCD 900—1100	Blas	Blickl. Hom.
	9	7	1	1	84	3	3	8	9	2	15
ālīesend	—	1	—	-	16	—	—	—	—	—	2
onlīesend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
lufiend		1	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
maniend	—	—	-	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
ȝemetiend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ȝe)mildsiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
mundiend	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
neriend	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
ednīwiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
bepǣcend	-	—	—	-	-	—	—	—	—	—	—
raciend	-	—	—	—	1	—	—	—		—	—
rihtraciend	—		—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
rēafiend	—	-	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
berēafiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
reccend	—	—	—		5	—	—	—	—	—	1
rētend	—	—	—	-	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
rihtend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
oferscēawiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
scieldend	—	—	-	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
forscrencend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
secȝend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
onsecȝend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-
sellend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
ǣsellend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
sēmend	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	-	1	—
smēaȝend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
speliend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ȝe)edstaðeliend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
stīerend	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
swefniend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
oferswīðend	-	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
tǣcend	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
tǣlend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
tīenend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
tiliend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
	10	9	1	2	124	4	3	8	11	3	21

Ælfric	WS. Gosp.	Wulfstan	Progn.	Eccl. Inst., Polity, Egbert	Cnut	Homilies 1000–1100	Rul.	Ap. Tyr.	Sermo Mariæ	Total prose	Total poetry	Total glosses.
84	14	17	2	5	3	17	1	2	—	287	3	—
23	—	2	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	48	—	29
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	3
5	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	13	—	4
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	29
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	63	—
—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	4	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	6	—
1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	3
—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	24
4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—
3	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	7
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	2	—
—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	3	—	10
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
139	14	24	3	7	3	28	1	5	—	420	—	—

	Abt., Hl., Wi., Ine.	BCS = KCD a. 900	Ags. Chro. a. 900	Mart.	Greg., Boeth. Sol., Past., Or., Bd.	Reg. Ben.	Cons. Mon.	As, Eg., Atr.	BCS = KCD 900—1100	Blas	Blickl. Hom.
Total	10	9	1	2	124	4	3	8	11	3	21
timbriend	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
tȳdriend	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
tyhtend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
weriend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
bewerіend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
āwēstend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
āwierdend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
wierȝend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
wissiend	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
wrēȝend	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—
Total	10	9	1	3	129	4	3	8	11	3	21

poetry), *rōwend* (cp. poetry), *swelȝend, bodiend, cwielmend, ēhtend, eardiend, in ~, frēfriend, fultumiend, fylȝend, ȝehīerend, onhyrȝend, ȝeefenlæcend, læstend, edlēaniend, ȝemetiend, raciend, riht ~, reccend, rihtend, secȝend, sellend, tȳdriend, tyhtend.*

3. 9th and 10th centuries.

drincende (Ru[1].)[1], *wīn ~* (WS. Gosp.), *oferhoȝiend* (Cons. Mon.), *welwyrcend* (Blickl.), *forestæppend* (WS. G.), *costiend* (Blickl.), *costniend* (WS. G.), *dælend* (WS. G.), *unrihtdōnd* (Blickl.), *fylstend* (Cons. Mon.), *fyrðriend* (BCS A. D. 932), *beȝīemend* (Cons. Mon.), *unrihthæmend* (Blickl.), *lænend* (WS. G.), *mundiend* (BCS A. D. 972), *scieldend* (Blickl.), *tæcend* (Reg. Ben.), *tælend* (Blickl.), *neriend* (Blickl.).[1]

4. Ælfrician (including Wulfstan).

lēohtberend[1], *eorðbūende*[1], *lærend, wyrcend, feohtend, āhniend, āriend* (Wulfst.), *ȝīemend* (cp. *beȝīemend* above 3), *hālsiend, heri-*

[1] Cp. poetry.

Ælfric	WS. Gosp.	Wulfstan	Progn.	Eccl. Inst., Polity, Ecgbert	Cnut	Homilies 1000–1100	Ru[1].	Ap. Tyr.	Sermo Mariæ	Total prose	Total poetry	Total glosses.
139	14	24	3	7	3	28	1	5	—	420	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	9
2	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	5	3	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	—
—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
3	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	4	1	2
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	5
147	14	26	3	7	3	32	1	5	1	441	—	—

end, *hierwend*, *hlystend*, *lǣwend* (cp. *belǣwend* above 1), *mildsiend*, *bepǣcend*, *rǣtend* (Wulfst.), *oferscēawiȝend*, *forscrencend*, *āsellend* (cp. *sellend*, above, 2), *smēaȝend*, *speliend*, *edstaðeliend*, *stīerend* (Wulfst.), *swefniȝend*, *oferswīðend*, *tīenend*, *tyhtend*, *beweriend*, *wissiȝend*, *āwēstend* (Wulfst.), *wierȝend*.

5. Post-Ælfrician.

londbūend (Eccl. Inst.)[1], *oncnāwend* (Ags. Min.), *midspecend* (Ev. nic.) *beswīcend* (Ap. Tyr.), *wrecend*[1] (Eccl. Inst.), *līesend* (Disc. Sacr. Cr.; cp., however, *ālīesend* early), *ednīwiend* (Ags. Min.), *rēafiend* (BCS. A. D. 1006), *berēafiend* (Ap. Tyr.), *onsecȝend* (Conf. Ecgb.), *tiliend* (Mar. Ægypt.), *āwierdend* (Sermo Mar.).

We thus find that new *end*-nouns were coined in an unbroken succession throughout the whole of the O. E. period. Among the earliest words, the law-terms comprise a fairly large proportion, but even then other words occur. The strikingly great number of

[1] Cp. poetry.

end-nouns met with in the works of Ælfred and Ælfric is not entirely to be ascribed to the voluminous dimensions of these works, when compared with the rest of O. E. literature; these writers use *end*-nouns not only relatively, but also absolutely, oftener than most other writers. No semological difference between the different chronological strata of *end*-nouns is to be found.

It must be observed, however, that some of the words considered above as new-formations of a certain period or author are, in fact, recorded even earlier, viz., in glosses. In the very earliest gloss collections, viz., Ep., Erf. and Co., the *end*-nouns are very few, but in the early VPs.., they are already numerous. For the sake of completeness the words occurring in these early glossaries may be cited separately.[1]

Ep., Erf. and Co.

contain only the following *end*-nouns: *beswīcend* (in prose not until Ap. Tyr.), *fultumiend* (first prose record: Ælfred), *tyhtend* (first prose-record Ælfric), *ferherȝend, ymbhrinȝend.*

VPs.

shows already a great number of participial ag.-n. We find there: *ālīesend, āspyrȝend, dælnimend, eardiend, ȝebēcnend, ȝeedlēaniend, ȝefrīȝend, ȝescieldend, hælend, mildsiend, sceppend, onstīȝend, upstīȝend* (the last three of which, as also *āspyrȝend, eardiend,* and *ȝeedlēaniend,* in V. Hy.).

To sum up, if we view the whole bulk of O. E. *end*-nouns, I think we can formulate the results obtained — as regards their occurrence and productivity in O. E. — in the following way:

Even at the beginning of the O. E. period, there existed some few *end*-nouns, in prose chiefly law terms (*āȝend, būend, tēond, sēmend, wealdend*), in poetry chiefly formations only used as last elements of cpp. and early assuming the character of kennings. This latter type was at once turned to extensive use, and a very large number of agential kennings in *-end*, chiefly cp. words, developed in O. E. poetry. But in prose, too, especially in those texts that were translated from Latin, a number of *end*-nouns

[1] It also goes without saying that, of the *end*-nouns used by a late O. E. author, many may be new-formations from his point of view, though occurring earlier.

made their appearance, Ælfred increasing the stock of such words considerably. The suffix became a frequently employed means for the formation of words designating the Deity, and also of words denoting performers of an action of a more abstract kind, the translators of Latin works subsequent to Ælfred creating many a new *end*-noun of this semological type. In the latest O. E. works, the occurrence of *end*-nouns seems to have decreased somewhat, and the number of new-formations is also somewhat smaller; I then leave out of consideration glosses, in which *end*-nouns abound down to the very last. Yet it is a characteristic feature of almost all O. E. *end*-nouns that they were never words of everyday use (colloquial character), but were exclusively literary words. This is proved, 1), by their semological character, 2), by the character of their records and also, 3), by the fact that only a very few of them are recorded several times. If a few exceedingly common words, such as *hælend*, *scieppend*, *wealdend*, and some few others are excepted, the average number of records for each separate word turns out to be incomparably smaller than the average number of records for the words of any other type of agential formation. The *end*-nouns clearly bear the stamp of being occasional formations. And so they flourish, above all, at a time when the old means of forming ag.-n. were falling out of use, and others were springing into existence, or rather, before another had had time to reach its prime and to supersede the others, as it was destined, ere long, to do. It will, I trust, be possible to arrive at a better comprehension of the suffix dealt with above, when, in the second part of my treatise, it can be viewed in its surroundings, so to speak, in its struggle with those other means of agent-formation.

Before leaving our suffix, after following it through the O. E. period, it will be interesting just to glance at the state of things in M. E., as far as *end*-nouns are concerned, in order to ascertain the fortunes of the suffix in later times. We shall find, then, that the suffix which had been so common to the very last in O. E., is scarcely to be found at all in M. E., and that the few instances occurring are all met with in the very earliest records. Of course, I have not turned to the M. E. sources themselves; I have only looked through Stratmann's dictionary, but the evidence afforded by this work is doubtless correct, since we can observe, even

there, how new formations in *-ere* have been substituted for the old ag.-n. in *-end*.

As the M. E. cases of *end*-nouns are so rare, I have thought it appropriate to give a survey of them (according to Stratmann) along with the records.

1. Words inherited from O. E.

alesend : ure drihten and ure alesend iunne us allen þet Hom. I 125_{12};[1] we schulen heonne vorð halden to iesu ȝodes sune moncun alesent Jul. 66^{6} (ab. 1200).[2]

onelend : seraphim birninde oðer anhelend Hom. I 219^{13}.

leohtberind(e) (Lucifer) : þa wes þes tyendes hapes alder swiðe feir isceapen swa þat heo was ȝehoten leoht berinde Hom. I 219_{15} (= Ælfc Hom. I 10_{14}).

delend(e) : ȝif non hine ne lufede, non to him ne come, ne delende nere of his eadinesse nof his merhðe Hom. I 217_{8}.

demend : hie shulen cnowen ure demendes wraþþe (of God) Hom. II 171^{10}.

dihtend : þe heuenliche þremnesse. fader and sune and holigost. is on almihti god. shuppende and wealdende and dihtende of alle shafte Hom. II 123^{14}.

helend : þat scolde beon ihaten Hælend Lay. 9144 Ms. Cal. (cp. Ms. Otho : he solde hote worlene Helare);[3] a þes helindes nomen 10197 Ms. Cal.[4] (lacking in Ms. Otho); ȝho shollde nemmnenn himm Jesus, þatt iss, Hælennde Orm 2216;[5] Kath. 185;. Hom. I 3^{6}; 83^{11} : hire sune habbe þene nome þet him wes iȝefen at circumcisiun þet wes helend (cp. what follows immediately after : and ȝef he hefde on his moder ibroken hire meidenhad, ne mihte nawiht brekere bon icloped helere 83^{12}); Ancr. Riwl. 112.[6]

[***sæliðende*** is not a substantival form, as Stratmann gives it, only an adj., for note sæliðende men Lay. 7821].

[1] Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of XII & XIII centuries. ed. Morris, E. E. T. S. 29, 34, 53.

[2] St. Juliana, ed. O. Cockayne and E. Brook. London 1872, E. E. T. S. 51.

[3] Layamon's Brut.

[4] Stratmann gives, wrongly, 10191.

[5] The Ormulum by Ormin, ed. White-Holt. Oxford, 1878.

[6] The Ancren Riwle, ed. J. Morton. London. 1853.

sceppend, recorded in Hom. (see above, *dihtend*, and below, *wald-end*); Rel; Kath.; Ancr. Riwl. 260: þe heouenliche schuppende; Orm 346: and Shippennd allre shaffte.

[***weiferinde*** is not a subst., as Stratmann gives it, only an adj.: weiuerinde men Ancr. Riwl. 350^{16}; oðre waynerindemen Ay. Inw. 39^{3}.][1]

waldend: creatorem celi et terre scuppende and weldende of heouene and of orðe and of alle iscefte Hom. I 75_{11}; II 17_{3}; lauerd drihten crist. domes waldende Lay. 25568; 28205.

wisezend: king is ihaten rex, þet is wisezend for he sceal wissian mid wisdome his folke Hom I 115^{13} (= XII Abus. 302_{10}).

3. Words not recorded in O. E.

ille-willand: be funden þi hand til al þine illewilland / and all þat þe hates find þi richt hand Early Engl. Ps. 20,9; 88,24; 105,10; in middes of þine ille-willand 109,2.[2]

waniand 'the waning moon, unlucky time': in þe waniand York XVI 37; waneand VIII 45.[3]

Thus *end*-nouns, in M. E. times, as was indicated above, p. 229, turn out to be extremely few and far between and to belong almost exclusively to the very earliest texts. They are restricted, on the whole, to some designations of the Deity, which are adopted from the O. E. originals, or, sometimes, from other O. E. texts, where they are common. Such is the case with *alesend*, *demend*, *dihtend*, *helend*, *sceppend*, *waldend*, *wisezend*. Of the few remaining words, *leohtberinde* goes back, in its one record, to an O. E. original; *onelend* is not quite certain as a subst., but compare O. E. *onælend* in glosses to Prudentius.[4] Finally, as regards *delend*, it occurs in a piece that is a somewhat revised homily of Ælfric's, but the original has not that very sentence. Moreover, the M. E.

[1] Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt ed. Morris. London 1866, E. E. T S. 23.

[2] Anglo-Saxon and Early Engl. Psalter, ed. Stevensson. London 1843, 47, (Surt. Soc.).

[3] The Plays Performed by the Crafts or Mysteries of York on the day of Corpus Christi in the 14—16th cent., ed. Miss L. T. Smith. Oxford, 1885. Not accessible to me.

[4] See Schlutter, Anglia XXXI 534.

delend and the O. E. *dǣlend*[1] do not occur in the same sense, since the M. E. word is used with the same meaning as O. E. *dǣlnimend*. Now, I suppose it is this O. E. *dǣlnimend* that has been present in the author's mind, though he did not remember the word exactly, but came to use *delend* in its stead.

Then we found two words that were not recorded at all in O. E. *Ille-willand* reveals itself as a M. E. new-formation by its first member, which is not an O. E. word, but cp., for the ptc., O. E. *welwillende*, common as an adj. in O. E. and occurring also in M. E. *Waniand*, however, is a rather curious M. E. *end*-noun, the more peculiar as it is only recorded from very late M. E. times — I presuppose the correctness of the record as it is given by Stratmann. Without a doubt, the word existed previously to the time of that record, since a new-formation cannot be possible at a time when there no longer existed a single *end*-noun, as far at least as the evidence afforded by dictionaries goes. Then it may also be remembered that the expression *on wanigendum monan* is recorded in O. E.; note, too, the instance adduced above, p. 82: beoð fulran on weaxendum monan ðonne *on wanigendum* Byrhtf. 327[22].

Substantival nom. ag. in *-end*, consequently, (with the exception of *wanigand*) do not live longer than down to the 13th century, when they disappear from the English language. Is has been shown that they do not form a productive type of agent-formation in M. E.

The productivity of the suffix ceases with O. E.

Why, then, did our suffix not retain its productivity, or, at least, hold its ground? The causes of the actual development are, in fact, quite obvious. We need not refer to the fact, often mentioned above, that *end*-nouns were always literary, not colloquial, words, often standing side by side with words formed by means of suffixes of a more popular type, and whose power was constantly increasing in the spoken language, though, of course, that may have been a contributory factor. We need only indicate the character of *end*-nouns as being pr. ptcc. used as substantives and inti-

[1] Occurs only once (WS. Gosp.), as a translation of L. divisor, see above p. 162.

mately associated with the participial form of the verb. When, then, the participial forms in *-ende* became extinct, being superseded by forms in *-ing*, the corresponding nouns followed them. But nomina agentis in *-ing* were not called into existence, nouns in *-ing* having existed even previously to the time of the extinction of substantival *end*-agents, but representing, in a popular and productive way, another semological category, viz., nomina actionis.

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Alc. Virt. = Übers. von Alcuin's De virtutibus et vitiis liber, ed. Assmann, Anglia XI, 371 ff.

Ap(oll). Tyr. = Appollonius of Tyrus, ed. Zupitza, Archiv 97,17 ff.

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De cog. = De cogitatione, ed. Napier, Anglia X 155.
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Ælfc gl., ed. Zupitza, Ælfric's Grammatik u. Glossar p. 297 ff.
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Ru.^{2} = Interl. Übers. d. Evang. d. Markus, Lukas u. Johannes im Rushworth-Ms., ed. Skeat, see Lind., above.
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C. Periodicals.

Academy.
Am JPh = American Journal of Philology.
Anglia.
Anglia Beibl. = Beiblatt zur Anglia.
AfdA. = Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum.
Arch. = Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen.
Ark., Arkiv = Arkiv för nordisk filologi.
Dt. Ltz. = Deutsche Literaturzeitung.
ESt. = Englische Studien.
Germania.
IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.
JEGPh = Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
KZ. = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.
Lit. Cbl. = Literarisches Centralblatt.
Lit. bl. = Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie.
MLN. = Modern Language Notes.
PBB. = Paul & Braune, Beiträge etc.
Publ.MLAA. = Publication of modern Language Association of America.
W. u. S. = Wörter und Sachen.
ZfdA. = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
ZfdPh. = Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.
ZfdW. = Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung.